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2

A N

Impartial HISTORY

O F

WHIG and TORY.

S H E W I N G

The Rise, Progress, Views, Strength, Interests, and Characters of those Two contending PARTIES: And the great Influence they have always had over most COURTS in *Europe*.

Written in French by Monsieur RAPIN, a Foreign Minister, who Resided here several Years. Lately Publish'd at the Hague.

Made English by Mr. OZELL.

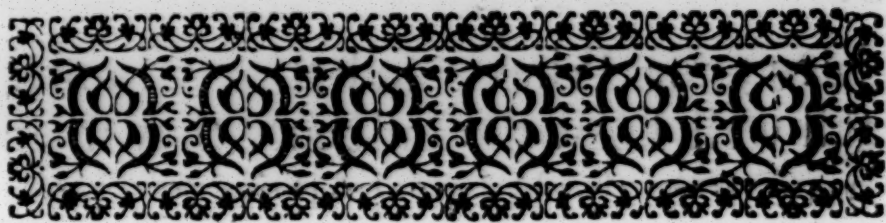
THE SECOND EDITION.

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PREFACE.



THE two Parties or Factions that divide *England* have been a long while talk'd of; but it is only within a few Years that the rest of *Europe* have taken Part in their Quarrel. Before the last Peace most Foreigners look'd upon the Differences that divided the *Whigs* and the *Tories* as a Matter only of Curiosity, and not at all likely to affect them. If some few seemed to give more Attention to them, it was only on Account of the Diversity of Sentiments of the two Parties upon the Hierarchy, or Government of the Church. These were the utmost Conceptions that the Generality of private Men among us had of the *English* Divisions. I say, private

Men; for Princes and their Ministers full well knew the Influence they might have upon the Political Affairs of *Europe*, according to the Party which governed at the Court of *England*, or in the Parliament. But of the Majority of the People, we may say they were utterly ignorant of the Consequences of them.

The Peace of *Utrecht* opened the Eyes of infinite Numbers of Men; because they saw plainly it was an effect of the Change of Ministry which happened at the *English* Court. As all *Europe* was engaged in the War, and of course concerned in the Peace that put an end to it, those who before spoke of the Divisions in *England* as of a Foreign Business, were now convinced what a Turn they might give to the Affairs of several other States. Since that Time, People have begun to argue and dispute upon this Subject with greater Warmth. Nay, indeed, most Foreigners are become either *Whigs* or *Tories*, according as they thought they saw in either Party, Principles conformable or contrary to their own Interests. Though both *Whigs* and *Tories*

Tories profess the Protestant Religion, and tho' their Differences seem not at all to concern either *Protestants* or *Roman Catholics*, yet these latter have declared in favour of the *Tories*, and the *Protestants* in favour of the *Whigs*. The Cause of their so doing is manifest: It is, that the former were pleased with the *Tories* for labouring to set a *Popish* King upon the Throne of *England*, and that the latter believed the *Whigs* had no other Aim than to preserve the Protestant Religion in that Kingdom. There is also another thing that moved Foreigners to espouse one of the two Parties; it is the Inclination for *France*, or the Apprehension of that Crown's ambitious Designs. In this Regard, the Friends of *France* are *Tories*, and her Enemies *Whigs*. Thus every one made his Choice, without troubling himself any farther about the real Source or true Nature of the Differences that divide the two Parties. It is no wonder this should happen among Strangers, since even in *England* many are *Whigs* or *Tories*, without having a clear Notion of the Party they have embraced.

It

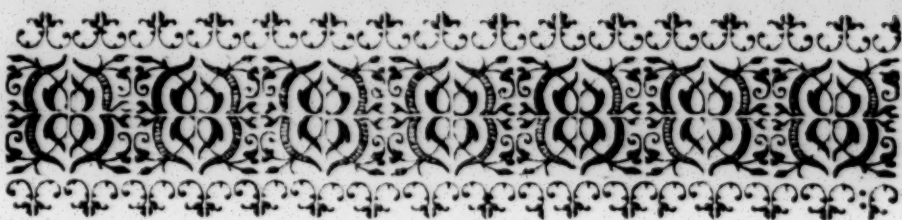
It is a little Surprizing, that no Body yet has taken the Pains to inform the Publick exactly of every thing relating to these two Parties ; which, by the Superiority the one or the other of them gets in *England*, are capable of altering the Face of the most important Affairs in *Europe*. 'Tis true, we have had Translations of several *English* Books, or rather *Libels*, written upon this Subject : But it is not from them that we must expect to learn the true State of the Affairs of the two Parties. Those Pieces were published either by *Whigs* or by *Tories*, and consequently by Authors that we may justly suspect of Partiality : Neither is there one of them that does not shew its Author to have a Tincture of it. A Foreigner therefore is the most likely Man to give an impartial Account of this Matter ; tho', to own the Truth, few Foreigners are sufficiently acquainted with it, or are wholly free from an Inclination to one of the Parties. Yet, the Author of this *Dissertation*, tho' a Foreigner, believes he is able to give a more extensive Knowledge of the two Parties

Parties than most People have of them at present. He resided no small Time in *England*, and has for several Years made the History of that Kingdom his particular Study. Moreover, neither his Inclination nor his Interest has attached him to either of the two Parties, and he is now in a Country where he has nothing to fear or hope from one or t'other. The *Dissertation* it self will afford convincing Proofs of his Impartiality. To give a distinct Notion of all Things relating to the two Parties, he was obliged to enter into a pretty long Narration of the History of *England*, without which it had been impossible to explain fully the Rise and Progress of those two Factions.

If the *English* think this *Dissertation* too short in some respects, and in others too long, they are desir'd to consider, that it was not writ for them only; the Author all along designed to confine himself to general Ideas: And, lastly, Things which in *England* are understood by every Body, cannot here be conceived without Explanation.

Some

Some may, perhaps, think it strange that the Author, who was born the Subject of a Government purely Monarchical, shou'd upon some Occasions write in such a Manner, as may induce People to believe he does not approve that sort of Constitution. To prevent this Suspicion, he desires the Reader to remember, that he cou'd not speak pertinently upon this Subject, without putting on the Spirit of an *Englishman*, and conforming himself to the Principles that are common in *England*. It was by this Means only, that he imagined he cou'd find out the Wisdom or Weakness of the two Parties. All his Arguments are grounded upon this Principle, of the Truth whereof he is intirely convinced: *That every private Man is obliged, in Conscience, to conform to the Government established in the Country wherein Providence has placed him.* So that it is his Opinion, that all the Intrigues, all the Cabals, all the Means, direct or indirect, which tend to the Dissolution of that Government, are so many Crimes for which the Perpetrators are answerable to GOD, and their Superiors.



A
DISSERTATION
UPON THE
ORIGIN
OF THE
Government of England.

whereas in other Countries, it has been by little and little totally lost, or extreamly changed. This Government, which has so long subsisted in that Island, seems in some regards Monarchical, and in others Republican ; and yet, properly speaking, it is neither. It cannot be called purely Monarchical, since the Nobles and the People share the Legislative Power with the King, and the King can impose no Tax without the People's Consent : Nor is it Republican ; since it owns a King who exercises the Sovereign Authority, who confers Offices and Honours, as well Ecclesiastical as Civil and Military, according to his Will and Pleasure ; and who can make War or Peace without being obliged to consult his Subjects. It would therefore be in vain to pretend to give a Notion of this Government by the ordinary Names of *Monarchical*, *Aristocratical*, *Democratical* ; none of which are at all adequate to it : It is a mixt Government ; it is neither of those above-named, but a Composition of all the Three. The Prerogatives of the Sovereign, of the Nobles, and of the People, are corrected by each other, in such a manner, that they are one another's mutual Support ; and at the same time, either of these Three Powers can lay invincible Obstacles in the way of whatever Enterprizes one of the other Two, or even both together, cou'd form to make themselves Independent. In short,

'tis

'tis very near the same Form of Government, that the *Saxons* had establish'd in *Germany*, the *Franks* in *Gaul*, the *Visigoths* in *Spain*, the *Ostrogoths*, and after them the *Lombards*, in *Italy*. It was the *Northern* Nations that carried it into the most *Southern* Parts of *Europe*, when they settled themselves there, and raised new States out of the Wrecks of the *Roman* Empire.

If it should be asked, how long this Government has subsisted in *England*? I dare venture to answer, Ever since the *Anglo-Saxons* had compleated the Conquest of that part of *Great Britain* which their Descendants now possess. 'Tis true, there is room to doubt, whether in the time of the *Anglo-Saxons*, the Commons were a part of the Parliament; and I own this Point is very hard to be resolved: But, be that as it will, at the Time when *England* was divided into Seven Kingdoms, part *English*, and part *Saxon*, each of those Kingdoms had its King and its Parliament, which was call'd *Wittena-Gemot*, that is, *The Assembly of the Wise Men*; and there was even One of the same kind for the Affairs which the Seven Kingdoms had in common. This Form of Government still remain'd when the Seven Kingdoms were united into One. The *Fields of Mars*, (which some too call'd the *Fields of March*, because held at first in that Month) or of *May*, in *France*, afterwards called the *States*; the *Cortes* in *Spain*,

and perhaps the *Dyets of the Empire* in *Germany*, are Remains of that ancient Form of Government which the *Northern Nations* carried into all the Countries where they fixed themselves.

William the Conqueror having subdued *England* in the Year 1066, made himself absolute Lord of it, and set up a Despotic Government, tho' he still preserved the Shadow and Appearance of a Parliament. To secure his Conquest, he brought over a great Number of *Norman, French, Breton, and Angevin* Families, whom he enriched with the Estates which he daily stript the *English* of. These foreign Families increased very fast, and became at last so powerful, that they were able to make Head against the Kings themselves that succeeded the Conqueror. At the beginning, those Foreigners, being but newly settled in *England*, made it their Glory to depend solely upon the King who had put them in Possession of their Estates. Their Interest obliged them to support with their whole Force, the Right by which they held all the Wealth they enjoy'd in the Kingdom. But when, at length, they found themselves firmly rooted, they began to apprehend that the Royal Power which had enrich'd them, might with the same Ease, impoverish them again, whenever a King should think fit so to do. For this Reason, they wish'd the Government might be restored to the same Foot upon which it
was

was in the time of the *Saxon* Kings. This was the only way to avoid the Inconveniences of a Tyranny, which might grow to be as Hurtful to them as it had been Advantageous, and to secure the Possession of their Estates. At first these were only Wishes, but they soon turned to Hopes, and at last became a Right, by the Means which I shall relate immediately. To set this Matter in its most extensive Light, would require a long Train of Particulars, and a minute Discussion of the Causes which contributed to invest first the Nobles, and afterwards the Body of the People, with a Right which they did not enjoy under the first *Norman* Kings. But as this Detail would lead me too far, I shall content my self with giving a small Abridgement of those Articles only which relate more directly to the Subject in hand.

William the Conqueror left the Kingdom of *England* to *William*, his second Son, surnamed *Rufus*, * to the Prejudice of his eldest Son *Robert*, who had only *Normandy* for his Inheritance. *Robert* made some Offers to divest his Brother of a Crown which he thought himself unjustly excluded from : But *William* made them ineffectual, by having the Art to tie both *Normans* and *English* to his Interest, by means of promising to re-establish the Go-

* In 1087.

vernment upon the same Basis whereon it stood before the Conquest, and to revive the *Saxon* Laws. He knew that they both desired nothing more earnestly than what he then gave them Hopes of : By the *Normans*, I mean here, all the Foreigners that were newly settled in *England*. This Promise of *William Rufus*, was thus the first Ground of their Pretensions. I say the first ; for the *Normans* had no Right to ask of the King what he was now pleased to promise them ; and the *English*, having been Vanquish'd, could not pretend to set Bounds to the Power of their Conqueror. 'Tis true, these latter might insist upon certain slight Promises, which *William* the Conqueror had made them when he received their first Homages : But that Prince never intended they should build a Right upon those Promises ; and accordingly, he always treated *England* as a Conquer'd Country. But let this be as it will, *William Rufus* broke his Word, and disappointed them All.

After the Death of that Prince, his younger Brother *Henry* the I. ascended the Throne (†) tho' his Elder Brother *Robert* was still alive. To secure his Usurpation, he took the Measures, as his Predecessor *William Rufus* had done before. He promis'd to put

(†) 1100,

the Government upon the ancient Foot, and confirmed his Promise by a Charter drawn in an authentick Manner; but he kept his Word with no more exactness than his Brother. Yet the Rights of the Subjects were very much strengthened by these Promises, tho' they were so ill executed.

Henry the I. being dead, his Daughter *Mathilda*, the Emperor *Henry* the Vth's Widow, and who was re-marry'd to *Geofrey Plantagenet*, Earl of *Anjou*, ought to have fill'd the Throne; but *Stephen*, Earl of *Boulogne*, Son to *William* the Conqueror's Eldest Daughter, found means to place himself in it in her wrong. (*) This last bound himself more strongly than his two Predecessors to restore the *Saxon* Government, tho' in all appearance he never really meant to keep his Word. The Nobles, finding he sought pretences to elude his Engagements, made violent War upon him, which lasted almost his whole Reign. In the beginning of it, they invited into *England* the Empress *Mathilda*, and afterwards her Son *Henry*, whom she had by the Earl of *Anjou*, and they continued the War, till they procured a Treaty, which settled the Crown upon *Henry*, after the Death of *Stephen*, tho' this latter had Male Children of his own.

(*) 1135.

Henry the II^d. succeeded *Stephen*: (†) During his Reign, and that of his Eldest Son *Richard* the Ist. there was no Difference between the King and the Barons: But there were very considerable ones in the Reign of *John* (*) the Brother and Successor of *Richard* the Ist. A terrible Rupture, that this Prince had with the Court of *Rome*, having at last constrained him to do Homage for his Kingdom to Pope *Innocent* the III^d. and to enter into an Agreement to pay him Tribute; this shameful Submission, conjunctively with several other Causes, entirely alienated the Esteem and Affection of his People. The Barons laying hold of this favourable Opportunity, presented him *Henry* the Ist's Charter, which had remained unexecuted, and wou'd oblige him to confirm it. *John* at first rejected it with great Scorn; but at length, finding himself too weak to resist the Barons, who were almost all confederated against him, he was under a necessity of granting them a much more ample Charter, and more advantageous to the Subject, than that of *Henry* the I. and this was called *Magna Charta*, or the *Charter of Liberties*. By this Charter, which was drawn just as the Barons pleased, they so bridled the King's Power, that they reduced it very near to the same Condition it was in

(†) 1154.

(*) *John* began his Reign in 1199.

under the *Saxon* Kings, before the Conquest. 'Tis this Charter that has been ever since, and is still look'd upon as the chief Foundation of the Rights of the Subject. I shall not stay to examin whether this Foundation is very solid. 'Tis a Question which I am not Learned enough to decide. 'Twill be sufficient to observe in few Words, by what Means this Concession, which seem'd so defective at its Origin, being manifestly extorted by Force, changed its very Nature in time, thro' the Firmness and Constancy of the *English*, and acquired an incontestible Authority, tho' at first it might have been disputed. For this purpose, we must look back upon what pass'd afterwards in relation to this Charter.

King *John*, who had Sign'd it, having gone about to revoke it, drew upon himself new Misfortunes, which lasted as long as he lived. The Barons, who were resolv'd not to lose the Advantages of their Charter, had recourse to the desperate Remedy of calling to their Assistance, Prince *Louis*, Son of *Philip Augustus*, King of *France*; and of putting him in Possession of the Kingdom, or at least of the greatest part of it. K. *John* dyed during this War, bereft of all his Royalty by a foreign Prince, or rather by his own Subjects, and left behind him a Son no more than ten Years old, and consequently unable to prosecute the Quarrel; some Lords, who had continued Faithful to the last King,

chose the Earl of *Pembroke* Regent, during the Minority of the young Prince, who was acknowledg'd by that small Party, by the Name of *Henry* the III. (†)

In a little while after this, Affairs took another Turn, thro' the prudent Conduct of the Regent, who finding the Barons strongly fixed to defend their Charter, gave them a positive Promise that it should be confirmed and executed. They had no sooner obtained this Assurance, but they quitted Prince *Louis*, who was thereupon obliged to return into *France*.

Henry the III. as soon as ever he was of Age, annulled the *Magna Charta*, and was resolved to Reign despotically. But as he had not Capacity enough to go thro' with such an Undertaking, his long Forty Years Reign was a perpetual Series of Troubles upon account of the Charter. He was several times constrained to confirm it, and he as often violated his Oaths and Promises : So that at last the Barons took up Arms, and put themselves under the Conduct of the Earl of *Leicester*, Son to the famous *Simon de Monfort*, General of the *Crusade* against the *Albigenses*. * The King had the Misfortune to lose a Bat-

(†) 1216.

(*) He was a younger Son of *Simon de Monfort's*. He was invited over into England by this very *Henry III.* and even Married a Sister of the King's.

tel, where Himself, the King of the *Romans*, his Brother, and his Son Prince *Edward*, were made Prisoners, and put in the Power of the Earl of *Leicester*, who made them promise upon Oath, that they wou'd never oppose the Execution of the *Magna Charta*. The Earl of *Leicester* Govern'd for some Time in the Name of the King, who was in his Hands. 'Tis said, it was under his Administration that the Commons were first admitted into Parliament; but without digressing to decide so knotty a Question, I shall only observe, that at least no Body can deny, that ever since the end of *Henry* the III'd's Reign, the Commons have always enjoy'd that Privilege.

Prince *Edward*, Son of *Henry* the III'd, having had the Luck to escape out of the Hands of the Earl of *Leicester*, won a Battel, wherein that Earl was slain. The King his Father by this Victory recover'd his Liberty; and made use of it not at all conformably to the Oath that had been exacted from him: But his Reign and Life lasted very few Years after his Deliverance. Tho' the Party of the Barons was brought very low, yet *Edward* the I. who ascended the Throne after his Father *Henry* the III. (†) did notwithstanding his Superiority confirm the *Magna Charta*. However, afterwards, he took some Steps

(†) 1272.

which indicated a Design formed to revoke it ; but finding the Barons begun to stir, he quitted the Enterprize, and confirmed it once more.

His Son and Successor *Edward* the II^d, (*) was deposed by the Parliament, for having endeavour'd to set up a Despotic Government contrary to *Magna Charta*.

Edward the III^d, Son and Successor to that unfortunate Prince, (†) confirmed it Ten Times during the Course of his Reign, which was extreamly Glorious in the Victories which Himself and his Son the Prince of *Wales* won over *France*.

Richard the II^d, Grandson and Successor of *Edward* the III^d, (‡) was deposed with great Solemnity, for having in several Respects, broke in upon the Privileges of the People, founded upon *Magna Charta*.

Henry the IVth, who made use of that Handle to dethrone *Richard* the II^d, and set himself up in his Place, (**) did himself make some Attempt to diminish the Prerogatives of Parliament. But he did not think fit to push the Execution of this Project too far.

Henry the Vth (his Son who succeeded him) (††) constantly maintain'd the Parliament in all its Privileges, and never meddled with

(*) 1307. (†) 1327. (‡) 1377. (**) 1399.
(††) 1413.

the Rights of the Subject. His Reign was a continual Series of Victories and Success against *France*. This Prince dyed in the Year 1422.

From that Time the Government of *England* stood so firmly establish'd upon its main Foundations; I mean, upon the Prerogatives of the King, and the Privileges of the Parliament, that for near two Hundred Years, no King seemed to have the least Thought of making an Attempt to shake it. All their Policy was confined to Govern the Parliament by secret Intrigues, without shewing any Desire of changing the settled Constitution of the Government. It is true, that there have been Kings (*Henry* the VIIIth for Example) who have done whatever they pleased; but never by robbing the Parliament of its Rights: On the contrary, it was by maintaining it in its Privileges, that they had the Art to make it serve their Purposes: Which, by the way, is the best and perhaps the only Means by which a King of *England* can make himself Powerful and Easy.

After so long a Continuance of the same Form of Government, and so uninterrupted a Possession of the Privileges of *Magna Charta*, the *English* Nation became so accustomed to it, that it appear'd to be impossible to make the least Alteration of it, without setting the whole Kingdom in a Flame: There was not so much as a likelyhood, that a King shou'd
ever

ever again undertake so difficult a Project, with the Hazard of losing his Crown, as some of the preceding Kings had done. But notwithstanding all this, *James* the Ist, the Successor of *Queen Elizabeth*, (*) ventur'd some Steps in this dangerous Course, and attempted to diminish the Prerogatives of Parliament. 'Twas by the pernicious Advice of his Favourite the Duke of *Buckingham*, that He began to engage himself in this Undertaking, which, in all probability, wou'd in the end have turn'd greatly to his Disadvantage, if Death had not surpriz'd him before he had given too much Suspicion of his Design. This Duke of *Buckingham* ought to be look'd upon as the first Author of the Troubles which have thrown *England* into such furious Convulsions for so many Years, and which disturb it at this Day.

It was in the Reign of *Charles* the Ist, the Son and Successor of *James*, (†) that the Project of rendering the King Absolute and Independent of the Laws, was warmly push'd; and all the Sails were spread to make Way as fast as possible. The Duke of *Buckingham*, who was *Charles's* Favourite, as he had been his Father's, fill'd his Head with Maxims directly contrary to the Government establish'd in *England*, and by that Means

(*) 1603. (†) 1625.

was the Cause of his Ruin : And after that Duke was Affassinated, *Charles* continued to prosecute the Design wherein his deceased Favourite had embark'd him. He had got a Notion that he might Govern without Parliaments ; or, at least, that Parliaments had nothing further to do, than to furnish him with Money. He dissolved Three; before he had reigned four Years, and gave the Nation to understand that he intended to call no more. Twelve Years passed at this rate of Governing without Parliaments ; during which Time, the King laid Impositions upon his Subjects, on divers Pretences, merely by an Act of his Will and Pleasure ; so that now every Body saw he intended to Reign Despotically. Unfortunately for him, he had taken too near to his Person, two Men who had imbib'd the same false Maxims, and who drove him nearer and nearer to the Precipice. These were *William Laud*, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and *Thomas Wentworth*, Earl of *Strafford*.

While this Prince was not engag'd in any Troubles Abroad, he quietly enjoy'd the Power he had usurped ; but not without the open Murmurs of the People : Yet no Body was found that durst stand in the Way of a Torrent that rush'd on with prodigious Violence. But at length, the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* having counsell'd him to establish Hierarchy in the Church of *Scotland*, and to
cause

cause Divine Service to be performed there, after the manner of the Church of *England*, he was so weak as to follow that pernicious Advice : But it was impossible to execute his Project, without coming to a Rupture with his ancient Kingdom of *Scotland*. (*) He raised Troops, and maintain'd them by means of the Taxes which he had imposed by his own Authority. Money failing him, after the first Campaign, he at last called a Parliament, (†) which was dissolved in a few Days, for the same Cause as the Three former ones, and the arbitrary Impositions went on as before. But it was not long before the King perceived, that the Continuation of the Power he had assumed, depended wholly upon the good Success of his Arms. It was but an unwilling Obedience the People paid him. The Nobles retired from Court upon various Pretences. The Validity of his Orders for levying Taxes, was openly contested in Town and Country. In short, where-ever the King turn'd his Eyes, he could see nothing but Subjects ready to desert him upon the first Occasion.

This Occasion offer'd sooner than he apprehended. His Army being defeated, and the *Scots* having made themselves Masters of *Newcastle*, he was now put to contrive Means

(*) 1639. (†) April, 1640.

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to drive them out of *England*; whereas he had been in Hopes of making himself Absolute and Uncontroulable in *Scotland*. But he was so far from finding his *English* Subjects inclined to assist him, that on the contrary, he saw they rejoiced at his Disgrace, and looked upon it as an Opportunity for them to recover their Privileges. In this Strait he assembled the Lords at *York*, in order to consult what was most convenient to be done. The unanimous Opinion of this Assembly was, that the King cou'd no otherwise retrieve these false Measures, but by calling a Parliament. Then he perceived too plainly, that it was not an Interval of Fifteen Years cou'd blot from the Minds of the *English*, the remembrance of their Parliaments, which they esteemed as the firmest Support of their Liberty. He was convinced there was an absolute Necessity to follow the Advice of the Lords in calling a Parliament. (*)

The Disposition the People were in towards the King, made them chuse such Members as were in greatest Repute for Ability, Courage, and Firmness to the Privileges and Immunities of the Subject. When this Parliament met, instead of going upon Means to repel

(*) To meet the 13th of November, 1640. Note, Before the Lords were met at York, he had Intimation that they wou'd be for calling a Parliament; so for his own Honour, He proposed it first himself.

the *Scots*, as the King hoped, they thought, that first of all they ought to secure the Liberties of the Nation, and set Bounds to the illegal Authority which the King had appropriated to himself for the Fifteen Years last past. They had no sooner shewn this Resolution, but the whole Body of the People turn'd of their Side, and the King was left so destitute of Adherents, that he found he was not in a Condition to make Resistance. The only Course that remained for him to take, was to submit to the Will of the Parliament, and pass almost all the Bills that were brought in to the House to bridle his Power. By this Condescension he hoped to perswade his Subjects, that he really intended for the future to adhere to the antient Laws, which ill Counsel had induced him to break; and perhaps he did really mean so to do; but the Nation did not believe it. On the contrary, it was the general Perswasion, that it was only Necessity obliged him to act in a Manner so different from what he had done before. Thus the mutual Confidence which ought to be kept up between the King and Subject, being entirely broke, the Parliament was resolved not to depend upon the Faith of a Prince, whom they thought they had very good Reason to distrust. They laboured therefore incessantly to put the Rights of the People out of all Danger for Time to come. In this View, they were not satisfy'd with making the

the King pass such Acts as reduced the Regal Power to its antient Limits; but proceeded even to force his Assent to Laws which considerably diminished the just Prerogatives of the Crown. The Partisans of the Parliament did not scruple to say, that the Subject cou'd never be safe, unless the King was made incapable of doing again what he had done before: So that this Prince, who had hoped to carry the Regal Authority higher than any of his Predecessors, was on the contrary, stript of great Part of the Power which was vested in him by the Laws of the Land. He had even the Mortification of being constrained to Sign a dead Warrant for the Earl of *Strafford*, (*) who had done nothing but by his Order, or with his Approbation. The Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* too was afterwards brought to the Block. (†)

If the Parliament had been contented with re-establishing the Government upon its antient Foundations, 'tis very likely it had never afterwards been easily shaken. But 'tis very hard to observe a just Medium upon such Occasions. The chief Leaders of that Assembly, thro' an eager Desire to fence themselves against the Enterprizes of the Regal Power, made such Changes in the antient Government, (despoiling the Crown of the best part of her Rights) that it was hardly to be

(*) May 1641.

(†) 1644.

known for the same. It was no longer the King and Parliament that govern'd the Kingdom ; 'twas the Parliament alone, or rather, only the Lower House, that ruled ALL. The Upper House had nothing further to do, than to pass without a Negative, the Bills that were brought from below, and the King was now no more than the Shadow of a Sovereign. But this was the very Thing that won him Friends ; which he had infallibly been without, if the Ballance had been held with a steady Hand. Many People were no less surprized, that the Parliament should offer to govern without a King, than they had been displeased at the King's dispensing with the Use of Parliaments. The Constitution of the Government was no less disfigured by the one than by the other. But what sent yet greater Numbers to the King's Party, was, that the Parliament, to fix the *Scots* in their Interest, became infatuated with the Project of changing the Government of the Church of *England*, into that of a Presbyterian Kirk, and this Design they with a high Hand put in Execution. The major Part of the *English* being accustomed to see the Church under the Direction of Bishops, cou'd not look on this Alteration without grumbling. But as these were by no means the stronger Party, because the Parliament had the Money, the Army, and the Forts at their disposal ; they had no other Resource, but to re-unite with the King.

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Then it was that Two Parties began to be formed in the Kingdom; one whereof was for the King, and the other for the Parliament: And they were now so much upon an Equality, that it was easie to foresee they wou'd not rest long without taking up Arms. The King's Friends were at first called *Cavaliers*, which Name was afterwards changed into that of *Tories*. Those of the Parliament, who were then called *Roundheads*, afterwards received the Name of *Whigs*. The Origin of these two Names of *Whig* and *Tory*, was this: At that Time the Denomination of *Tory* was apply'd to certain Robbers, or Banditti in *Ireland*, who lurked upon the Mountains, or in the Islands which form the vast Bogs of that Country. They are now called *Rappees*. As the King's Enemies accused him of favouring the *Irish* Rebellion, which broke out at the same time, they gave his Friends the Name of *Tories*. On the other Hand, the latter, to be even with their Adversaries, who were strictly united with the *Scots*, nick-named 'em *Whigs*, who were, in *Scotland*, the same Sort of *Banditti* as the *Tories* in *Ireland*. It appears by this, that these two Names are as antient as the beginning of the Troubles, tho' they did not come into Fashion till many Years afterwards. I can't tell precisely about what time; but the Names of *Cavalier* and *Roundhead*, seem to have remained till the Restoration of *Charles II.* and those of *Tory* and

and *Whig*, to have afterwards obtained by little and little. These are the Two Parties that began to divide *England* in the Time of *Charles* the 1st, and which divide it still. The *Papists* immediately ranged themselves on the side of the King, who was not so much their Enemy as the Parliament was ; and they have ever since remained united with the *Tory* Party.

What we have already said upon this Subject, sufficiently shews, that the King's Party consisted of two Sorts of Men ; one whereof had chiefly in View the Political Interest of the King and Crown ; and the other, that of the Church of *England*. But they were all united in this Point, that they found their reciprocal Advantage in the King's Prosperity, without which they cou'd never hope to succeed in their Designs. For this Reason they were looked upon as only one Party, under the Name, either of *Cavaliers* or *Royalists*. This Mixture of two different Views in the same Party, has continued to this Day, and is not one of the least Causes of the Confusion of Ideas which arises upon the Word *Tory*. To distinguish one from t'other as clearly as I can, I shall call the former *Political*, or *State Cavaliers*, and the latter *Ecclesiastical*, or *Church Cavaliers*. Each of these Two Parties was again subdivided into Two others. For among the *Political Cavaliers*, were Men, who persisting in the Maxims of the Duke of *Buckingham*,

ham, Arch-Bishop *Laud*, and the Earl of *Strafford*, wished to see the King Absolute, and in a Condition to destroy the Privileges of Parliament. These may be called the *Arbitrary*. But they were few in Number, and very unable to support the King in his Adversity, tho' in his Prosperity they had made a great Noise in the Kingdom. The other Branch of Political Cavaliers consisted of those whom I shall call *Moderate*. These, indeed, wish'd to see the Royal Power vested with its proper Rights, but not with any Prerogatives contrary to the antient Constitution of the Government. The other Cavaliers, that I have called *Ecclesiastical*, were also divided into two Branches; whereof one consisted of *Rigid Churchmen*, that is, of People that wou'd not give up the least Tittle of the Practice of the Church of *England*. Those of the other Branch were less scrupulous, and less obstinate, and may be called the *Mitigate*.

In opposition to the *Cavaliers*, or *Royalists*, who follow'd the King's Party, the *Round-heads*, or *Parliamentarians*, were divided into two chief Branches, namely, the *Political*, and *Ecclesiastical*. The principal Aim of the former, was to maintain the Rights of the People; and of the latter, to advance Presbytery. Each of these two Branches was also subdivided into two others; one whereof consisted of *Republicans*, whose Aim was to sap the very Foundations of the Regal Power, and
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to turn *England* into a Republick. The other comprehended the *Moderate Men*, who only fought to put it out of the King's Power to abuse his Prerogative, but were still for leaving him in Possession of his just Rights. Thus much for the *Political* or *State Round-heads*, or *Parliamentarians*. As for the *Ecclesiastical* ones, they also form'd two Branches, whereof the first consisted of *Rigid Presbyterians*, whose View was the Destruction of the Hierarchy ; and the other of *Moderate Presbyterians*, who would have been satisfied with much less, and perhaps with a bare Toleration. This it was absolutely necessary to premise, for the understanding of what we shall say in the Sequel ; wherein I shall endeavour to represent more extensively all that concerns the different Branches of the two Factions, after I have finish'd the Abridgment, which the Rise of these two Parties interrupted.

The King was in a deplorable Condition, destitute of Friends, of Money, and of Refuge, and constrain'd to bear any Load the Parliament should lay upon him, while they in a manner had their Foot upon his Neck ; when of a sudden he was cheer'd by a Ray of Hope from the springing up of the two Parties above-mention'd. He immediately conceiv'd, that it must certainly be of Advantage to him, if he cou'd foment the Division ; and he succeeded in his Design of
so

so doing. By this means he at length believed he had reason to hope he might right himself by way of Arms. He therefore raised an Army, and engaged himself in an open War with the Parliament, who on their Side had taken all the necessary Measures to resist him.

There is no necessity to enter here into the Particulars of that War, since the melancholy Catastrophe of it is still too recent. 'Tis enough to say in two Words, that *Charles* the 1st was overcome, and lost his Life upon a Scaffold. (*) Thus the King himself, together with the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Earl of *Strafford*, and Arch-Bishop *Laud*, who had been the Authors of the Project of making the King Absolute, did all come to tragical Ends. If we add to these Examples, those of K. *John*, of *Henry* the 3rd, of *Edward* II. of *Richard* II. and lastly, that of *James* the 1st, who all went upon the same Scheme, and who all fell in the Attempt of putting it in execution, we may easily comprehend, how dangerous it is for a King of *England* to undertake to ruin a Government so well cemented.

Oliver Cromwell, the chief Promoter of *Charles* the 1st's Death, remained Master of the Government. He durst not, however, assume the Title of King. He found a Way

(*) Jan. 30th, 1648

to make himself Absolute : but he did it under the specious Pretence of preserving the Liberty of the Nation. This is the only Instance that ever was in *England* of an usurp'd Authority, that continued to the natural Death of the Usurper.

While the sovereign Power was in *Cromwell's* Hands, the *Cavaliers* were terribly oppress'd : But the Moment that formidable Enemy was in his Grave, they took Heart once more. That they might give their Adversaries no Handle against them, they put themselves under the Leading of such of their Party as had the best Character for Moderation ; so that in appearance, the Branches of *Arbitrary* and *Rigids* were lost. This Policy was absolutely necessary at a time when they were obliged to be very cautious how they insisted upon the Royal Prerogative, or the Rights of the Church of *England*, since there were neither King nor Bishops to support them. At length, by one of the most surprizing Revolutions that ever happen'd, brought about, in a great measure, by the prudent Management of General *Monk*, the *English* united to set *Charles* the II^d upon the Throne, and to re establish both Church and State on the ancient Foot.

Charles the II^d at first reigned in Peace : He wanted neither Wit nor Penetration : But he was to the last degree indolent, and totally addicted to his Pleasures. His Inten-
tion

tion was to live in Tranquility, and to avoid all Occasions of Quarrelling with his Subjects. He had suffer'd too much in his long Exile, during which he had often wanted even Necessaries, to run the Hazard of reducing himself again to the same Circumstances. On the other hand, several Things had concur'd to open the Eyes of the *English*, and to shew them, that under Colour of maintaining their Liberty, they had been brought into Slavery. For it may be affirm'd, that *England* was never less Free, than during the Government of the *Long Parliament*, and afterwards of *Cromwell* : Yet *Charles* the II^d insensibly began to go greater Lengths than he at first design'd, either thro' Indolence, or thro' too great Condescension to his Ministers, who were all of the Party of *Cavaliers*, whom I shall henceforth call *Tories*, as I shall the *Roundheads*, *Whigs* ; tho' I am not fully satisfy'd what Time those two Names came into Vogue. The *Tories*, then, who had the King's Ear entirely to themselves, were incessantly soliciting him to restore the Royal Power, and the Church of *England* to their ancient Lustre. The Court of *France*, for Ends of her own, labour'd also with all her Might to fill him with the same Thoughts. And to forward this Design, the Ministers took great Care to hinder any of the *Whigs* from insinuating themselves into the King's Favour.

The Head of the Tory Party was the Duke of *York*, the King's Brother, a Prince of an impetuous, violent Nature, and who having embraced the *Popish* Religion during his Exile, had formed a Project of introducing it into *England*, and making it National. This Project cou'd never take Effect, without first extending the Regal Power beyond the Bounds prescribed by the Laws; that is, without resuming and prosecuting the same Design to which his Father, the late King, had unhappily fallen a Martyr : But the Duke was utterly unfit to manage such an Undertaking, because of his natural Disposition, which hurry'd him on with too much Precipitation. He labour'd at it assiduously, during the Life of his Brother, who had no Children lawfully begotten. He hoped, that beginning the Work so soon, wou'd facilitate the Perfection of it when himself shou'd come to the Throne.

There was no other Way to succeed in this Design, but by entirely ruining the *Whig* Party, whose Principles were directly contrary to what the Duke of *York* proposed, as well in Matters of Religion, as in respect to the State. It must be observed, that then the greatest Part of the *Whigs* were Presbyterians : So that by seeming to attack only Presbytery, the Duke hoped to ruin those that opposed the enlarging of the Royal Power, without alarming the Nation. 'Tis

true,

Duke true, that after having quite depressed the
 Party of the *Whigs*, he might with Reason
 fear to meet with great Obstacles from the
moderate Tories, whose Principles did not en-
 tirely agree with the Tyranny he meant to
 set up. But these he concluded he shou'd
 easily surmount, if he cou'd succeed in remo-
 ving the *Whigs*, as the most dangerous Ene-
 mies. In this View he prevail'd upon the
 King to persecute the *Prebyterians*, in which
 he was back'd by all the *Tories*, who were
 wonderfully fond of this first Occasion of
 being revenged of their Enemies the *Whigs*.
 Thus, under a Pretence of re-establishing the
 Church upon the same Foot on which it
 stood before the Troubles, Presbytery was
 attack'd with a great deal of Fury. An Act
 was pass'd, which forbid the Presbyterian
 Assemblies, which were call'd Conventicles;
 another, which decreed, that no Person shou'd
 be capable of holding any publick Office, un-
 less he cou'd produce an Affidavit of his ha-
 ving Communicated in the Church of *England*.
 This last Act was called, the *Act of Confor-*
mity, because those that pretended to any Em-
 ployment, were obliged by this Statute to
 conform to the Service of the Church of
England.

The *Whigs* soon found, that under Co-
 lour of maintaining the Rights of the
 Church of *England*, the Duke of *York's*
 Design was to overturn the State, and
 to

to ruin the Protestant Religion in *England*. Some Time was necessary to fix upon the proper Measures to prevent this Mischief; and at length, with the Assistance of the *moderate Tories*, who were at last apprehensive of the Duke's carrying Things too far, they obliged the King to send that Prince out of the Kingdom. The Lower-House even prepar'd a Bill, which was call'd, *The Bill of Exclusion*, to hinder the Duke from succeeding to the Crown. But the Bill did not pass, because the King dissolved that Parliament: He convoked another at *Oxford*, in hopes the People might chuse Members that were less Violent. He was mistaken; after a short Session, he was obliged to dissolve this too, which had also undertaken to make an Act of the same nature.

It may, perhaps, be thought strange, that the Scene should be so soon shifted; and that the *Whig* Party, who had been so very low, shou'd of a sudden get the upper-hand. To account for this Change, it is necessary to observe, that the *moderate Tories* help'd on the Designs of the Court with all their Power, while they thought Presbytery alone was aim'd at: But when they perceived, by every Step of the King, the Duke of *York*, and the Ministry, that the Scheme was laid to ruin the Constitution both in State and Church, and to Sap the Foundation of *Magna Charta*, they presently united with the *Whigs*
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in order to break the Plot. This it was that gave the *Whigs* a Superiority, which else they could never have attained. On the other hand, the *arbitrary Political Tories*, and the *rigid Ecclesiastical Ones*, to regain the Ground they had lost, endeavour'd to get the People on their Side, by accusing the *Whigs* of having formed a Design to ruin the Church; and these in their turn accused Them, of plotting the Destruction of the Government, and favouring the pernicious Schemes of the Duke of *York*. Thus the Hatred of the two Parties, which since the Restoration seem'd to have been considerably weaken'd, resum'd new Strength; and we may say with Truth, it was the Fault of the *Tories*, who to be reveng'd for the Wrongs they had suffer'd during the Long Parliament, and under the Government of *Cromwell*, threw themselves blindly into the Duke of *York's* Measures. They repented it afterwards, when they saw to what Purposes that Prince made them Tools.

Some Time being pass'd, and the Minds of Men a little calm'd, the Duke of *York* return'd into *England*, and continued indefatigable in fomenting Factions and Disorders, without which he cou'd never hope to bring about his Projects. Thus that Prince, out of an Excess of Zeal for the Religion he had embraced, and it may be ambitious to succeed in a Design which several Kings of *England*

land had undertaken in vain, in conjunction with *Charles* the II^d, who was too easily led by his Brother's Insinuations, kindled a Flame which has never since been extinguished.

Charles the II^d dyed during these Transactions, and his Brother ascended the Throne without any opposition. He made great Promises to his Subjects, and tryed to persuade them, that neither the Religion, nor the Constitution of the Government, shou'd suffer any Alteration under his Reign : But he executed his Promises very indifferently. A little while afterwards, the Duke of *Monmouth*, one of *Charles* the II^d's Natural Sons, trusting to the Discontents of the Nation, left the *Netherlands*, whither he had been banish'd, landed in *England* with some Troops, and assumed the Title of King. But his Royalty lasted only a few Days. His Party appearing much weaker than he hoped to find it, he was overthrown, taken Prisoner, and beheaded. This Victory thus easily obtained, so swell'd the new King's Vanity, that he was no longer apprehensive of discovering his Designs; so secure he thought himself of Success. He got a Decision from the corrupted Judges of the Kingdom, that the Sovereign had a Right to dispense with Laws made in Parliament. This Decision was grounded upon certain Statutes, which granted the King that Power in reference to some particular Laws; and upon
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Precedents of the like in some former Kings, who had therein exceeded the Bounds of their Prerogative. Thus these vile Judges from some particular Cases, drew a general Conclusion; and founded a perpetual Right upon a few temporary Usurpations.

This Door being set open, the King, by his bare Authority, revoked the Penal Laws which divers Parliaments had enacted, to prevent the Attempts of the Papists. This done, he brought into his Army great Numbers of Officers of that Religion, and conferred Offices and Honours upon Persons whom the Laws had pronounced incapable of holding them. He deprived the City of *London*, and several other Towns, of their Charters, and reduced them to depend solely upon his good Pleasure. Lastly, By a Proclamation only, he granted Liberty of Conscience to all his Subjects, and gave Permission to every Man to perform publicly the Exercises of his Religion. This Proclamation had a double Aim: First, To favour the *Papists*; Secondly, To blind the *Presbyterians*. The King fancy'd, that as these latter still groaned under the rigorous Laws which had been made against them in the last Reign, they wou'd be over-joyed at seeing themselves freed from them; and that Fear of losing the Liberty which the Proclamation granted them, would keep them in Obedience. But they were not the Dupes of this Artifice, which at the bottom meant their Ruin. I

omit an infinite Number more of the King's Usurpations, which cou'd not fail to cast terrible Apprehensions into the Minds of his Subjects.

Till now all the *Tories* in general had gone into the King's Measures: But when they perceived that all these Steps tended to the Dissolution of the Establish'd Government, and the Destruction of the Protestant Religion, they began to repent their past Conduct. They saw plainly, that by the Road they were drawn into, the Design was to lead them farther than they meant to go, and they cou'd not compass the Ends they aimed at, to wit, the Ruin of the *Whig* Party, but by ruining, at the same Time, their Religion and Liberty. In this Danger, which was come to the last Extremity, they joyned with the *Whigs* to invite over the Prince of *Orange*, to deliver them from the dangerous Condition to which their Folly had brought them. The King's Party now became very weak, consisting only of *Papists*, *Fiery Tories*, and some Lords that were Slaves to the Court and their own Fortunes. Yet, the King outwardly appeared as strong as ever, and believed he came near to the Completion of his Wishes; because those that still seemed attached to the Court Party, did not think proper to declare themselves till Matters were ripe. But upon the Arrival of the Prince of *Orange*, the King's Weakness was made manifest. His Army, his
Fleer,

Fleet, the Lords that he thought most devoted to his Person, abandoned him all at once, and he was reduced to the melancholly Necessity of endeavouring to fly the Kingdom in disguise. But having ill Success even in this also, he had the Mortification to see himself at the disposal of the Prince of *Orange*, and 'tis probable, to be obliged to his Generosity, or perhaps to his Policy, for the indirect Means which were furnish'd him to make his escape into *France*. This Example proves, that tho' the *English* are divided into Two Parties, which are prodigiously animated against each other; yet their Madness does not reach so far as to make them give up their Religion and Liberty; or that at least there are but few of so strange a Character.

William and *Mary* being crowned upon the Abdication of King *James*, their first Care was to stifle the Seeds of Division which still continued between the *Whigs* and the *Tories*, tho' they had been united in their common Danger. To effect this Design, it was necessary to remove from the Ministry such as had favoured King *James's* Projects, and those that were the most stubbornly devoted to the most insignificant Ceremonies of the Church of *England*. Without this, the *Whigs* cou'd never have lived in repose; since they had always found the *Fiery Tories*, and the *Rigids*, to be their mortal Enemies. On the other Hand, it was no less necessary to remove

such of the *Presbyterian Whigs*, as were the most stiff in their Principles, for fear of giving Occasion to report that there was a Scheme laid to alter the Government of the Church. This Fear was indeed something the better grounded, because the new King having always made Profession in *Holland* of the *Calvinist* Religion, the least step in favour of the *Presbyterians* might have given an Alarm, that he was about to fix it upon the Ruins of the Church of *England*. Great Caution was therefore to be used in this Point, to take away from the *Tories* all colour of Fear and Suspicion. In these Views it was, that during the Reign of *William* and *Mary*, Offices were generally bestowed upon *Moderate* Persons of both Parties. King *William* observed the same Maxim when he was alone upon the Throne, after the Queen's Death. But as it was impossible to satisfy both Parties, because there were not Places enough for them all, he affected to change his Ministry often, and to make use of the two Parties by turns. This was all he cou'd do, and he was obliged to leave the Extinction of the Fire of Discord to be the Effect of Time.

In the Circumstances *England* was then in, under a King of so much Wisdom and Prudence, it was almost impossible for the difference of Principles to have occasioned any Disorders, if the *Ecclesiastical Tories* cou'd have been contented with seeing their Church up-
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permost. But the *Rigids* of that Party cou'd not be easie while they saw the Presbyterians enjoy an entire Liberty of Conscience, exercise their Religion in publick, and possess Places, notwithstanding the Act of Conformity, which had been made in King *Charles* the Second's Reign. They cou'd not help suspecting, that the Intention of the *Whigs* was to undermine the Church of *England* by degrees, and that the King concurred with them in this Design. What had been done during the long Parliament made them fear the same Attacks now. But the Truth is, the *Arbitrary Tories* having lost King *James*, their Head and Defender, insinuated these Fears and Suspicions into the Ecclesiastical ones, in order to animate them against King *William*. They knew they were utterly unable of supporting themselves long, if they cou'd not find a Way to draw the Church into the Quarrel. From hence proceeded the Reports that ran among the People, that *the Church was in Danger*. This convinced the *Whigs*, that the *Arbitrary Tories* had not thrown up their Projects; and that if ever they got into Power again, they wou'd be sure to make use of the Pretence of Religion to ruin them, as King *James* had done before. Thus the Animosity between the two Parties was kept up, in spite of all King *William* cou'd do to hinder it.

The Dispute now seemed to be upon the Account of Religion only. Neither the *Arbitrary*

bitrary Tories, nor the *Republican Whigs*, having an Opportunity of pushing their Principles. This has given Occasion to many People to form a false Idea of the Differences that reign between the two Parties, and to imagine that they consist solely in their diversity of Sentiments with relation to the Government of the Church. But this is certainly a mistake. When a fair Opportunity offers, the *Arbitrary Tories* shew plainly, that the Safety of the Church of *England*, is not the only Motive of their Actions; and 'tis likely the *Republican Whigs* wou'd remember their old Maxims if the Times favoured them.

As for the *Papists*, who may be reckoned as a Branch of the *Tories*, they had great reason to be contented with King *William's* Moderation towards them, if the earnest Desire they had to see King *James* restored to the Throne, had not made them look upon the King as their mortal Enemy. Some among them went so far, as even to plot against his Person; but it always turn'd to their Confusion and Ruin. This excessive Impatience which the *Papists*, and some among the *Tories* intimated for the Restoration of King *James*, obliged King *William* to think of Means, not only to prevent their ill Designs during his Life, but to render their Endeavours fruitless after his Death. It was with this View that by an Act of Parliament the Succession of the Crown was settled on the most Serene House of *Hano-*

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ver, without the least regard to the Hereditary Right which might be in any Papist whatsoever. King *William* died some while afterwards, and *Anne*, the Daughter of *James* the Second, and Princess of *Denmark*, ascended the Throne.

This Queen had been educated in the Principles of the *Rigids*, with reference to Religion; and 'tis very likely, in those of the *Arbitrary Tories*, with reference to Government. At least, all that had any Power over her, or any Influence in her Education, were of that Character. Her Uncle, *Charles* the II^d, her Father *James* II^d, her Grandfather by the Mother's side, the Earl of *Clarendon*, the Earl of *Rochester*, Brother to her Mother, the Dutchess of *Tork*, were all imbued with the Principles of *Arbitrary Toryism*, looking upon all Resistance against the Will of the Sovereign as manifest Rebellion. *Anne* had besides but a very mean Capacity, and was naturally Obstinate. In the Reign of King *William* and Queen *Mary*, a Quarrel which happened between her, and the Queen, her Sister, having provoked her to make a Resolution to absent her self from the Court; she kept it so punctually, that to the Death of King *William* she never wou'd come near it. She did not so much as visit the Queen, her Sister, on her Death-bed. When she succeeded to the Throne, the Mediocrity of her Understanding made it easie to judge, that her Ministry wou'd have much more share in the Go-

Government than herself. Again, her Education made People fear she wou'd throw herself into the Hands of the *Arbitrary Tories*, and of the *Rigids*, of which her Uncle, the Earl of *Rochester*, was looked upon as the Leader. That Lord was equally dreaded both by the *Moderate Tories*, and the *Whigs*, as a dangerous Man, and one that wou'd carry Matters to the highest Extremities. He was otherwise a Gentleman of great Capacity, but very conceited of his own Principles. It is exceeding probable, that he wou'd have been set at the Helm by the Queen, his Niece; but, they say, the Apprehensions the *Moderate Tories* were in of seeing him in so elevated a Post, prevailed upon them to resolve to unite with the *Whigs*, in order to prevent it. However, that this Union was made is certain, and that the new Queen was by this means in a manner forced to put her self into their Conduct, and to trust them with the Administration of her Affairs. I do not know the Intrigues that were made use of to work up the Queen to enter into those Measures. The new Ministry presently nominated the Earl of *Rochester* Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*; but that Nobleman perceiving plainly it was only done to send him out of the Way, refused to accept of an Employment which wou'd make him such a Dependant of the Ministry's. The Lord *Godolphin*, the Lord *Marlborough*, and some other Heads of the *Moderate Tories*, were those that joyned

joined the *Whig* Party, which they strengthened more by their Prudence, than by their Number or Credit. Ever since that Time, the *Moderate Tories* and the *Moderate Whigs*, have been but one and the same Party.

It wou'd be unnecessary to relate in this Place, with how much Glory both to *England* in general, and the Queen in particular, this new Ministry directed the Affairs of the Publick. 'Tis what is known over all the World, and will not be easily forgotten. But 'tis pretended, that by reason of the Mediocrity of the Queen's Genius, they kept her in little better than Servitude ; tho' outwardly they affected to give her the Honour of all Successes. During their Administration, the *arbitrary Tories*, and the *rigid Ecclesiasticks*, were totally excluded from Civil Employments, and Ecclesiastical Dignities : And if they had kept in till the Queen's Death, those two Branches of the *Tory* Party wou'd undoubtedly have been greatly lessen'd both in Number and Credit.

Yet the Queen cou'd not without some Impatience endure to see herself as it were constrain'd to follow the Advice of those whom she had a Right to Command, and who, if we may believe the publick Reports, did not allow her to be directed by her own Judgment, or Inclinations. The *arbitrary Tories*, getting a Hint of this ; or, perhaps, having

by some means instill'd these Sentiments into her, ply'd her daily with Arguments that might foment her Chagrin, which they did by the Assistance of a certain Lady that was much in her Confidence. They succeeded so well in this Contrivance, that having compleatly persuaded her she was a Slave, they inspir'd her with a Resolution of setting herself free. This Intrigue was manag'd with so much Art and Secrecy, that the Ministry found themselves Outed, before they cou'd take the proper Measures to prevent their Ruin. Of a sudden, the *arbitrary* and *rigid Tories* were put in their Places. The Parliament, in which the *Whigs* had a great Majority of Voices, was dissolved, and the Queen called another, wherein the New Ministry took Care to have such Members elected as were wholly devoted to their Party. Every body that is in the least acquainted with *England*, must know how much Influence the Court has in Elections. Besides, they added vast Numbers to their Faction, by fomenting Jealousies with respect to Religion; and by persuading the People, that the Church had been in woful Peril during the Administration of the last Ministry; and that it wou'd always be so, whenever the *Whigs* were at the Helm. It was by these Suggestions that they revived the Fury of the *Ecclesiastical Tories*, and egg'd them on to
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commit such Violences upon the Presbyterians, as ought never to be suffer'd in a well-regulated State : But the Ministry pretended to see nothing of the matter. In effect, their Design was not to diminish the Rancour of the two Parties, but rather to enflame it as much as possible ; because it was this that strengthened theirs.

Hitherto things went swimmingly for the New Ministry. But they full well knew, that the chimerical Terrors they had spread among the People, cou'd not live long ; tho' for the present they did them admirable Service. Besides, even tho' they had been sure to keep up this Disposition in the People, yet the Queen might dye soon, enjoying but an indifferent State of Health. In this Case they had too much reason to fear that all they had been doing, wou'd be overturn'd at once by the Elector of *Hanover*, who was obliged for his Succession chiefly to the *Whigs*. It was therefore their Business to contrive Means to prevent this Danger without loss of Time. Their Party was too weak to subsist by its own Strength, if they shou'd have the King against them, as Experience had often convinc'd them during the Reign of K. *William*, and the beginning of the Queen's. They concluded therefore (at least if we may judge by their Actions) that their safest Way wou'd be to settle the Pretender upon the Throne,

that they might never want a Protector when the Queen was gone. However, it is not quite certain whether the cunning Gentleman in the Tower was of the same Mind. But it cannot be deny'd, that they thought the Assistance of *France* was absolutely necessary for their Security. It was therefore to make sure of that Assistance, they made that shameful, precipitate Peace, which has fill'd all *Europe* with Amazement and Indignation; and for the same Reason they forced the Allies to follow their Example. It is probable, that if the Queen had not dyed so soon after the Peace, the oppress'd *Whigs* must have been obliged to invite over the Elector of *Hanover* to their Assistance, as they did, before, the Prince of *Orange*, but with much less Hope of having the universal Concurrence of the People. The Reason is, that when the Prince of *Orange* was invited over, King *James* had declared himself so openly, that no Mortal cou'd doubt his having a Design to change the Religion and Government of the State; whereas in this Case of bringing in the Pretender, they could only judge upon Probabilities.

What has happen'd since King *GEORGE* has been upon the Throne, plainly proves that a Scheme was laid to set the Crown upon the Pretender's Head; if the Death of the Queen had not fallen out before Matters were quite
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ripe for such a Revolution. But it is not certain that they cou'd even then have put it in execution ; or, if they had, that the Pretender's Reign had lasted long. The *English*, in general, are exceeding jealous of their Laws and Liberties, and they are no less so of their Religion. This I believe may safely be affirmed, tho' some few among them appear indifferent as to this last regard. But God be thanked, the Men of such loose Principles are far from being the majority : So that it is very unlikely, that the Pretender, placed upon the Throne by a foreign Power, professing a Religion contrary to that establish'd in the Nation, and advis'd by *arbitrary Tories*, wou'd have been able to contain himself within the Bounds of Moderation, necessary to win the Hearts of the People, without which a King of *England* can never be firm upon his Throne. But without troubling ourselves to guess what wou'd have happen'd, let us conclude what we have to say upon this Head with remarking, That the *arbitrary Tories*, and the *Rigids*, were basely baulk'd. Not only the Pretender is no King, but he had never less Hopes of coming to be one. King *George* is in peaceful possession of the Crown. The mighty *Tories* are pull'd down, and the *Whigs*, who some-time since were lower-most, are now exalted to the top of the Wheel.

After

After having gone thro' this short History of the Rise and Progress of the two Parties of *Whig* and *Tory*, the Reader, I believe, will not be displeas'd to see a more particular Account of their *Views, Interests, Strength, and Characters*. To shew these clearly, we must carefully distinguish the several Branches which some Pages before I did but slightly mention. 'Tis therefore necessary to repeat here, that the two Parties may be regarded under two different Aspects, to wit, with respect to the Political Government, and with respect to the Church. I shall first handle the *Political* or *State Tories*, and *Whigs*; and then consider them on the side of Religion.

The *Political* or *State Tories* are divided, as I said before, into two Branches, whereof the one we may call the *Arbitrary Tories*: They are commonly called in *England* by the Name of *High-Flyers*. This Idea, taken from Birds that are lost in the Clouds, and fly beyond the common Sphere of other Birds, agrees very well with the Nature of People that cannot contain themselves within the Bounds of the Government establish'd. These are for making the King Absolute in *England*, as he is in *France*, and some other Countries; and his Will they think ought to pass for a Law. They give no heed to History, which tells them (as I said at the beginning of this Treatise)

tise) that all the Governments now subsisting in *Europe*, were originally very near the same with that of *England* ; and that consequently, there is not the least shew of Reason why the *English* shou'd imitate the other Nations in suffering it to be lost, or so much as greatly alter'd. We may easily judge, that in such a Country as *England*, this Party cannot be very numerous ; and yet it is by no means despicable, for three Reasons. *First*, Because the Heads of this Party are Men of high Quality, and generally Favourites, or Ministers of State, or others that possess the greatest Posts at *Court*, and the most eminent Dignities in the *Church*. As these are not likely to submit to the leading of any but themselves, they generally, by means of their high Stations, make themselves the Chiefs and Masters of all the *Tory* Party. They turn it which way they please, not only to the Advantage of all the Party in general, but chiefly to their own particular Ends. Thus, commonly, under colour of acting for the Interest of the *Tories*, they enter into Measures which tend only to their private Benefit, and engage the whole Party to go greater Lengths than most of them cou'd with. This gives many Persons occasion to accuse the whole Body of the *Tories*, of being for a despotical Government ; tho' it is certain, that only the *arbitrary* Ones are of that Principle : But, indeed, it is not very wrong to

to ascribe to a whole Party, what their Leaders do by their Assistance.

In the Second Place, this particular Branch of the *Tories* is considerable upon this account ; that when they are in the Ministry, they get the *Tory Clergy* to make the Pulpits ring with the Doctrine of *Passive Obedience* ; which is of no small use to them, in bringing the People to their Side. They persuade the Parsons that all they intend is to ruin the Presbyterians ; and with this Insinuation, draw them in to preach up a Dogm, which, in its consequence, is equally prejudicial to all the Subjects. Instances of this were seen in the Reigns of *Charles* the II^d, *James* the II^d, and the latter-end of *Queen Anne*.

Lastly, the *arbitrary Tories* become very Powerful when they have a King on their Side, as they have often had ; and then it is that the Liberty of the Nation is in danger. We have had Proofs of this in the Reigns of *James* the II^d, *Charles* the Ist, *Richard* the II^d, *Edward* the II^d, and *Henry* the III^d : For the Party of *arbitrary Tories* is more ancient than is generally imagin'd.

The Second Branch of the *Political* or *State Tories*, consists of those I have before called *Moderate*. These are for not depriving the King of any of his Prerogatives ; but they wou'd by no means Sacrifice to him the Privileges of the Subject. These are true

true *Englishmen*; they have the real Good of their Country at Heart; and are resolv'd to maintain the Constitution of the Government, in the same Condition it was transmitted down to them from their Ancestors. They have often saved the State, and will save it again, whenever they see it in Danger, either from the *arbitrary Tories*, or the *republican Whigs*, by making a noble Stand against all such as would break in upon the Constitution. It would be Injustice to these, to confound them with the former, under the same Name of *Tories*.

As there are two Branches of the *State Tories*, so there are also two of *State Whigs*, namely, the *Republican*, and the *Moderate Whigs*. The *Republican Whigs* are a Remnant of the Party of the Long Parliament, which undertook to change the Government into a Republick. These do now make so pitiful a Figure, that they only serve to fortifie the Party of the other *Whigs*, with whom they commonly joyn. The *Tories* wou'd fain perswade the Publick, that all the *Whigs* are of this kind, as the *Whigs* wou'd make them believe that all the *Tories* are *Arbitrary*. But this is only an Artifice to render each other mutually odious.

The Second Branch of the *State Whigs* is made up of the *Moderate Whigs*, who are very near of the same Principles with the *Mo-*

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derate Tories, and who ought to be looked upon as true *Englishmen*, that are for preserving the Government upon its antient Foundations. In this they wou'd be entirely like the *Moderate Tories*, if there were not this difference, that the *Moderate Tories* incline more to the side of the King, and the *Moderate Whigs* to the side of the Parliament. These are in perpetual Motion to hinder the Rights of the People from being invaded. Sometimes they use Precautions for that purpose, even to the Expence of the Crown. It was they that procured the Act for Triennial Parliaments, and some others, which it wou'd be unnecessary to mention, but all which were designed to prevent the King's making an ill use of his Power. It appears by this, that the *Arbitrary Tories* have no Enemies so formidable as these; and likewise, that these two Branches, of *Moderate Whigs*, and *Moderate Tories*, do properly form the two main Bodies of *Political* or *State Tories* and *Whigs*. These latter make a Jest of the Doctrine of *Passive Obedience*, when the Consequences of it are pushed too far. They aver that the King's Power is limited to certain Prerogatives, which he cannot without Injustice exceed. And therefore they are persuaded, that whenever he is guilty of any *Usurpation* on that side, the People have a Right to resist his Enterprizes. It is an easie Inference from hence, that they do not believe

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What has been said is enough to shew, that the *Moderate Whigs and Tories*, are, in most respects, of the same Opinion. What divided them into two different Parties, was their mutual Fear, that the one shou'd be too indulgent to the King's Prerogative, or the other to the Privileges of Parliament, and so turn the Scale too much to one side. It is therefore no wonder that these two Branches of the contending Parties shou'd unite, when the Danger of the State requires their help: For indeed, they both equally intend the preserving the Constitution of the Government, tho' they often take contrary Ways to attain the same end. And thus we see, that since the Union of the two Parties after the Death of King *William*, they have never separated again, and the *Moderate Whigs and Tories* make now but one and the same Party, by the common Name of *Whigs*. However, I dare not aver, that there are no *Moderate Tories* in being, that keep themselves concealed, and are unwilling to be mingled with the *Whigs*.

It must be remembered, that hitherto I have spoken of the *Whigs and Tories*, only in reference to the Government, and not to Religion. I wou'd by no means confound two Things that ought to be carefully distinguished. All the Churchmen are not *Tories*, when a Point of Government is in dispute; nor are

all the Presbyterians *Whigs*, as several imagine. There are several Presbyterians who are in this Case of the Principles of the *Moderate Tories*, and who wou'd be no less unwilling to see the King despoiled of his Prerogatives, than to see the Subjects deprived of their Rights. So, there are also a great Number of Church Men, and many Bishops, who are *Whigs*, nay, very good *Whigs*, if we consider them only with relation to the Government, and in Opposition to the *Arbitrary Tories*. This shews, how necessary it is to make a Distinction between the *Political*, or *State Whigs* and *Tories*, and the *Ecclesiastical Whigs* and *Tories*, to whom we shall come presently.

I suppose the Reader is sufficiently informed, that the Church of *England* at the Reformation, admitted only some Alterations in the Doctrine, but preserved the Hierarchy, with all those Ceremonies that she thought untainted with Superstition. The Work of the Reformation was not fully compleated till the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*. Then it was, that divers Synodal Decrees, confirmed by Acts of Parliament, settled Divine Service in the manner it is now practised in the Church of *England*. Nevertheless, several *English* Preachers, and others who had been in Exile, during the Reign of Queen *Mary*, returned into *England*, prejudiced in favour of the manner wherein the Reformation was established
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at *Geneva*, in *France*, in *Switzerland*, and in some Parts of *Germany*. These Men cou'd not approve of that of *England*, which in their Opinion, had not been carried far enough. For this Reason they not only neglected to be present at the Congregations of the Church of *England*, but even separated entirely from them, and had particular Meetings among themselves, which were even then called *Conventicles*. These Separatists were also called *Presbyterians*, because they refused to submit to the Jurisdiction of the Bishops, holding that all Presbyters, or Ministers, were equal in Authority, and that the Church ought to be governed by *Presbyteries*, or *Consistories* made up of Ministers and some Lay-Elders. Upon this Dispute were formed Two Parties, who instead of shewing a mutual Condescension for People who in the main professed all the same Religion, began to vex each other by Contests, both by Word of Mouth, and in Writings. The *Episcopalians*, that is, those who adhered to the Church of *England*, were very angry that private Men shou'd presume to amend what had been decreed upon the mature Deliberations of the National Synods and the Parliament. On the other Hand, the Presbyterians thought it no less strange, that People shou'd go about to force them to practise Things which they thought

thought contrary to the *Purity* (*) of Religion, and which their Conscience wou'd not allow of. The Presbyterians were for a great while in Oppression, because their Antagonists back'd their Arguments with the Authority of the Queen and Parliament.

When King *James* the First ascended the Throne of *England*, after the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*, the Presbyterians conceived great Hopes from that Prince's having always professed their Religion while he reigned in *Scotland*. But as he conformed to the Church of *England* without a scruple; they were but little the better for him. Yet this Party, as much oppressed as it was, encreased in such a manner, that it was very numerous at the beginning of the Troubles which arose in the Reign of *Charles* the First. That Prince was so zealous for the Church of *England*, that he may justly be called her Martyr, as those that read his History will easily agree. The Opinion he had of her Purity made him readily listen to *William Laud*, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, who put it into his Head to reduce the Church of *Scotland* to the same Form of Government with that of *England*, by introducing her *Liturgy* there. This Undertaking engag'd him in a War with *Scotland*;

(*) This gave them the Name of Puritans.

and that War produced the Parliament we have spoken of before ; against which the King thought himself oblig'd to take up Arms. This same Parliament, standing in need of the Assistance of the *Scots*, cou'd not obtain it, but by promising to bring *Presbytery* into *England*. They began therefore to pick a Quarrel with the Bishops, the Deans, the Prebendaries ; and, in short, with the whole Church of *England* ; and at last changed the Hierarchy, establish'd by Queen *Elizabeth*, into a Presbyterian Government, after the manner of *Scotland*. Then the Episcopalians had no other Course to take but to joyn with the King's Party ; and as they had one common Interest with the Cavaliers, namely, to support the King, they were confounded with them in the same Appellation. The Presbyterians were in the same manner confounded with the Party of the Roundheads, because they adhered to the Parliament.

While the Long Parliament subsisted, and till the Death of *Cromwell*, no notice was taken of the Division of Branches which I have mention'd. All that were comprehend- ed under the Name of *Roundheads*, or *Parliamentarians*, were rigid *Presbyterians*, and *Republicans*. This was then the only Party in Fashion, and the only Way to attain to Offices which were at the Parliament's disposal. Thus those that followed the King's Party,

Party, seemed to be *arbitrary Cavaliers*, or *rigid Episcopalians* ; because those were the Men best looked upon at Court. But after K. *Charles* the II^d was restored to the Throne, the different Branches of the two Parties began to be distinguish'd.

The whole Nation being grown weary of the Troubles that had so long agitated the Kingdom, the Men of moderate Sentiments were not afraid to avow them openly. Some among the Presbyterians intimated, that they would willingly relax somewhat of the Stiffness of their Principles; and many Churchmen were of Opinion that in favour of Peace, some Condescension might be shewn the *Presbyterians*. These moderate Men therefore of both Parties, were those that formed the two Branches of *mitigated Whigs* and *Tories* : But the Majority of both Parties stuck firm to their Principles with inconceivable Stubbornness. Among the Churchmen there were a vast many who wou'd not for the World recede one single Tittle from the Practice of their Church; and among the Presbyterians, there were those that were as much shock'd at the Sight of a Minister officiating in a Surplice, as they cou'd be at an Heretical Sermon; and who look'd upon all the Ceremonies the Church of *England* had retain'd, as downright Idolatry and Superstition.

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This was what gave Birth to the two Parties of *rigid Churchmen*, and *Presbyterians*, which remain at this Day. The Hierarchy is the chief Article upon which they are divided. Both sorts are comprized under the Denomination of *Whig* and *Tory*, because the *rigid Churchmen* joyn the *Tories*, and the *rigid Presbyterians* the *Whigs*.

From all that has been said in reference to the various Branches of *Whigs* and *Tories*, it is easy to gather, that these two Names are very obscure, and equivocal Terms, because they do, or at least ought to carry along with them many different Ideas, according to the Occasion upon which it is used.

For Instance : If I hear any one say, that the *Whigs* and *Tories* are mightily enflamed against each other, this forms in my Mind an Idea which takes in all the various Branches of *Whigs* and *Tories* in general. But if I hear, that the *Tories* are for making the King Absolute, and Independant upon the Laws ; or that the *Whigs* are for abolishing the Royal Power, my Imagination fixes only upon the *Arbitrary State Tories*, and the *Republican Whigs*. The other *Whigs*, and the other *Tories*, would, no doubt, be offended, if such Sentiments were ascribed to them.

In like manner; If I hear that the *Tories* wou'd rather bring in a *Papish King*, than be govern'd by a *Protestant King*, who shou'd favour the *Whigs*; I shou'd do Wrong to the *Tories* in general, to impute to them a Thought which takes place in the Hearts of the *Papish Tories* only; or of some of the *rigid Church Tories*, and perhaps of some *arbitrary Tories* too.

Lastly; If I hear, that the *Whigs* contrive the Destruction of the Church of *England*, I can conceive it no otherwise than in reference to the *Presbyterian Whigs*, since it wou'd be to the last Degree unjust to accuse the *Church Whigs*, in which Number are many Bishops, of seeking the Ruin of their own Church.

Thus the Names *Whig* and *Tory* inspire certain confused Ideas, which few People are able rightly to disentangle. But those Ideas are still more confused, when we consider that one and the same Person may be both *Whig* and *Tory* too, according to the Case before him.

A *Presbyterian*, for Example, that desires the Ruin of the Church of *England*, is certainly, in that respect, a *Whig*: But if this very *Presbyterian*, with all his Might, opposes the Attempts which some few of his Party wou'd make upon the Royal Authority, it cannot be deny'd that there he is a *Tory*. So

So again ; Whenever the Church is upon the Tapistry, the *Episcopalians* may all be reckon'd *Tories*, but what Numbers of them are there, that are *Whigs* in matters of Government ? It is not Foreigners only that are perplexed upon this Subject ; the *English* themselves are the same : Nothing is more common than to hear a *Whig* accuse all the *Tories* in general of having a Design to abolish the Rights and Privileges of the People ; and to hear a *Tory* charge all the *Whigs* without distinction, with striving to pull down Monarchy and Episcopacy.

Every one takes Advantage of the confusion of Ideas, occasion'd by the Appellations of *Whig* and *Tory*, to blacken his Adversary with the most odious Faults any of the same Party are guilty of.

After having given as clear an Account as I was able of the two Parties, we must next examine their several Motives and Interests. If we will believe what each of them says of himself, nothing can be more just, more equitable, more reasonable, than the Principles they act upon : They are guided wholly by the Glory of GOD, the Honour of the KING, the Good of the

Publick, the Benefit of the Nation. For my part, if I am allow'd to give my Opinion, private Interest is the first Mover of their Actions. Ever since the two Parties have been formed, every Man has labour'd assiduouſly to get the better of his Antagoniſts, becauſe from that Superiority flow Places, Honours, and Dignities, which the reigning Party diſtribute to their own Members, excluſive of the contrary Faction. This induc'd King *William*, to ſay, that if he had good Places enow to beſtow, he ſhou'd ſoon unite the two Parties.

There is another Way to procure that Union ; which is, to confer all the good Poſts upon Gentlemen that are Neuter : But where wou'd it be poſſible to find enow of that Character, fit to hold the chief Offices ? It is certain, they are but very few in Number. Yet ſome there are, who for their Capacity, their Impartiality, their Diſintereſt, merit a particular Diſtinction. I cou'd wiſh I knew them all, that I might be able to publiſh their Names, and give them ſome ſmall part of the Praises they juſtly deſerve : But theſe Noblemen that are ſo worthy to be known, are very little talk'd of in foreign Countries ; becauſe, making their Court to neither of the two Parties, the Places ſeldom
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fall to their Share. Yet it sometimes happens that the Ministry finds it self in a manner obliged to search out such Noblemen, and to Honour them with the most eminent Dignities in the State. There is one particularly, who without having ever fawned upon the *Tory* or *Whig* Ministries, was chosen Ambassador and Plenipotentiary at the Peace of *Ryswick*, honour'd with the Order of the Garter, adorned successively with the Posts of Keeper of the Privy Seal, President of the Council, High Admiral, and Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, tho' he never made the least Interest to solicit those great Employments. I speak of the Earl of *Pembroke*, whose Reputation is better known than that of some other Noblemen of the same Character, whom my Silence ought in no wise to injure. Among all his other Virtues, his Integrity in the great Employments he has gone thro', deserves more florid Elogiums than a Stranger can give, that has not the Honour of knowing him personally, nor of being known to him.

If there were in *England* a Dozen Lords of his Character, and they were put in possession of the chief Posts, it wou'd be an infallible Means to quell the two Parties at once. Then those that put up for Places, wou'd make a Merit of espousing no Party,

Party, and this Impartiality wou'd soon extend from the Great Men to the People : But this is a Happiness sooner to be wish'd for than expected. Neutrality is so far from helping to advance Men of distinguish'd Merit, that, on the contrary, it does for the most part, infallibly exclude them from all Employments, because the Ministers, and the Heads of Parties, think of nothing but how to gratify their Creatures.

I said, just now, that Interest is the chief Motive upon which the two Parties act ; and this is but too apparent. If for Instance, the *Arbitrary Tories*, wish to see the King Absolute ; I very much doubt whether they do it with a View to procure the Good of the Kingdom ; even tho' they be persuaded, that a despotical Form of Government is the most perfect. If they only fought the Publick Advantage, they would not be so violent and so assiduous.

The same may generally be said of the other Branches of the two Parties. Every one wou'd have you believe, that he aims at nothing further than the National Benefit ; while in truth, he seeks the enriching of Himself, his Family, and his Posterity. But when, I say, that Interest is their chief Motive ; I wou'd not be thought to ex-

exclude several other Motives besides, which may affect as well the Heads as the Members of each Party. Some believe their Principles really tend to the Good of the Kingdom; others act out of a Religious Motive: Some thro' Revenge, a Spirit of Party, and for the Honour of obtaining the Victory.

There are an infinite Number of other Motives, of which it would be unnecessary to give a particular Account, because such a Detail wou'd lead us into the Examination of the Conduct of private Persons. Every Body knows, that several Men may drive at the same End, thro' various Motives. We had better examine into the Strength of the two Parties, and their several Interests. To do this, we must go regularly thro' the different Branches into which they are divided. I shall begin with the *Tories*.

It is at first very hard to believe that in such a Country as *England*, where the Subject enjoys so many fine Privileges, of which other Nations are now deprived, there shou'd be a Set of People, that long to see the King invested with an unlimited Power. There are indeed but few that make open Profession of being of the Party of those whom I have called *Arbitrary Tories*. Yet it
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is but too certain that there has always been such a Party in *England*, and that it is still subsisting, tho' it is disowned by most of those that are engaged in it.

Can it be deny'd that there was such a Party in the Reign of *Charles* the 1st. The very Judges of the Kingdom, who are esteem'd the Interpreters of the Law, decided, That in Cases of Necessity, the King might impose Taxes upon the Subject ; and that the the King himself was the only Judge of the Cases wherein that Necessity lay. This was at once cutting away the best Privilege of Parliament, and the chief Cause of its frequent Conventions. If the King cou'd levy Money upon his People, without the Authority of that Assembly, we may be assured it wou'd be call'd much seldomer, and perhaps, at last, entirely laid aside. And if there was no Parliament, what wou'd become of the Rights and Immunities of the People ? In all probability they wou'd fare as they have done already in *France*, since the General States have been omitted to be conven'd.

Again, did not the Judges in the Reign of *James* the Second, compliment the King with a Power of dispensing with the Penal Laws ?

Laws ? Was not this granting him an absolute Power ?

Charles the First, and *James* the Second, did also make long Strides towards a despotical Government, which they had never adventur'd to do, if they had not rely'd upon the Support of a great Number of Partisans.

Let any one reflect upon certain Steps taken by Queen *Anne* in the latter-end of her Reign ; as for Example : The manner in which the Peace of *Utrecht* was treated, and concluded ; the Creation of Twelve Peers at one Time ; the Violences used in Elections of Members of Parliament ; and he must confess, that they were so many Advances made towards an Absolute Power, to which she was instigated by the Party we are speaking of. This proves there is such a Party existing in the Kingdom : But as those that are of it, dare not openly avow it, they hide themselves under the Cloak of maintaining the Rights and Privileges of the Crown, to which they seem to confine themselves, endeavouring to pass for *moderate Tories*. But Favourites, or Ministers of State, being generally the Leaders of the *arbitrary Tories*, they almost

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constantly make themselves by that means the Heads of all the *Tory* Party, and draw them in to go greater Lengths than they care for.

They begin with falling foul upon the *Presbyterians*; and this wheedles the *Ecclesiastical Tories* into their Measures, who know nothing of the Purposes it is designed they shall serve. Under colour of aiming only at the *Nonconformists*, they prevail upon the Parsons to Preach up the Doctrine of *Passive Obedience*, which leads directly to Tyranny. This makes the Party of *Arbitrary Tories* more Powerful than at first Sight it appears to be.

The great Art of that Party consists in pulling the Church into the Scrape, by seeming wonderful Zealous for all her Rights. By this means they mingle themselves with the *Ecclesiastical Tories*, (whose Number is very great) avoid alarming the *Moderate Tories*; and lastly, lye snug, till they have drawn in all the Party to serve their private Ends. But with all their Caution and Artifice, they have the ill Luck never to be able to get to the end of their Race.

After

After having made themselves the Heads of the whole *Tory* Party ; and after having led the *Moderate* and the *Ecclesiastical* part of them to one certain Point, by secret Turnings and Windings ; they are at last obliged to take some particular Steps which discover their whole Plot. Then they lose great Numbers of their Friends, who not only leave them in the Lurch, but even joyn with the *Whig* Party.

A Proof of this was seen in King *James* the Second's Time, who found himself of a sudden deserted by all the World, at the very Time when he thought he had just attained the height of his Wishes.

If in the last Year of Queen *Anne*, the *Arbitrary Tories*, who govern'd in her Name, had proceeded to revoke the Act of Succession (as they intended) it is exceedingly probable they would have met with the same Mortification ; and I don't at all doubt but the like Revolution will always happen upon the like Occasion. The Reason is plain : It can be of Advantage but to very few *Englishmen*, to have a *Popish*, or an *Absolute* King upon the Throne.

The Party, or Branch of *Moderate Tories*, is vastly more numerous than that of *Arbitrary Tories*. Whatever Advantage these latter may have by the Quality of their Leaders, the others are still the more Powerful, because they maintain a good Cause; I mean, the Conservation of the King's just Prerogatives : This is an Interest which is properly the Interest of the whole *English* Nation, which must never expect to be Happy under any other Government besides that which has been so many Ages established in their Country.

This Branch of *Moderate Tories*, does also become more considerable every Time any Attempt is made to Extend, or Contract the Royal Power. If 'tis to Contract it, they are joyned by all the *Whigs* ; if to Extend it, they have the Assistance of all the other *Tories*. Yet it sometimes happens, that the Situation of Affairs, produces an Alteration as well in the Principles as in the Interests of that Party.

When the King favours the *Tories* in general ; that is to say, when he gives them the Places and Employments, nothing can loosen the *Moderate Ones*, from his Interest :
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But if he leans to the other Side, they have not the same Affection for him. Then if they perceive that the *Whigs*, by way of prevention of future Usurpations, which is pretty common with them, go about to lessen some part of the Royal Prerogative, they do not much scruple to joyn them : But their Intent in this, is only to let the King know their Strength. This Artifice they often put in practice during the Reign of King *William*, who often chang'd his Ministries.

In general, the Interest of the *Moderate Tories* is to oppose the Attempts the *Whigs* might make against the King's Authority : Because by this they keep up their Credit at Court, and among the People. But at the same time, they ought to be very Cautious, that under the specious Colour of being of the same Name and Party, the *Arbitrary Tories* do not lead them further than they intend to go.

As for the *Ecclesiastical, or Church Tories*, we may easily judge that their Party takes in almost the whole Kingdom, since that Branch is composed of all the Members of the Church of *England*. So that when Religion is the Point in dispute, between
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the *Whigs* and *Tories*, the former are by no means able to cope with their Adversaries. From hence it proceeds, that the *Ecclesiastical Tories* are never afraid of shewing their Spleen against the *Presbyterian Whigs*, because their Number gives them a great Superiority.

The Case is not the same with the *Presbyterian Whigs*, who, even in the time of their greatest Prosperity, dare not shew the least Inclination of attacking the Church of *England*. They did it once, during the *Long Parliament*; and the *Tories* will never forget their having done so. They fancy the *Whig* Party to be an Enemy always ready to Sap the Foundations of their Church; and from what they have done once, draw Inferences of what they would do again, if it lay in their Power. This is what makes them so ready to swallow the Suspicions that are from Time to Time scatter'd among them, that *the Church is in danger*; and this the Reason of their being so easily blinded on that Side. Their Leaders know so well how to improve this Disposition of theirs, that they never lay a Scheme, with relation to the State, but they are sure to make the Church a Party concern'd. This is an infallible Means to keep the Party close together; whereas

whereas they wou'd be terribly disperſed abroad, here and there, if Government were all the Quarrel.

This was what won King *Charles* the Firſt abundance of Partifans, which he had certainly been without, if the Parliament had not attack'd the Church of *England*.

By this Means too it was, that in the Reign of *Charles* the Second, the Duke of *Tork*, tho' a *Papiſt*, made himſelf the Head of the *Eccleſiaſtical Tories*, who gladly concurred with him in deſtroying their Enemies.

Every time King *William* took the *Whigs* into Play, the *Church Tories* were preſently full of diſmal Apprehenſions, for fear that Prince ſhou'd contrive the downfall of their Church.

The ſame Stratagem was uſed during the Firſt Years of Queen *Anne*, becauſe the Miniſtry were then *Whigs*, or *Moderate Tories*. Towards the End of the ſame Reign, the like chimerical Terrors brought the *Church Party* into the Meaſures of People who themſelves were viſibly without any Religion at all.

And

And lastly, it was upon the same Pre-
tence, that since King *GEORGE* has
been upon the Throne, they call'd in a *Po-
pish Pretender* to save the Church of *Eng-
land* from the pretended Trains the wick-
ed *Whigs* had laid under it. 'Tis there-
fore Religion that is the Strength of the
Tory Party. It is most certain, that if they
had not the Knack of getting astride upon
the Church, to make themselves look Great,
the *Arbitrary Tories* wou'd appear to be in
a very pitiful Plight, and the Difference be-
tween the *Moderate Whigs* and *Moderate Tories*,
wou'd not make half the Disturbance in the
Kingdom that it now does.

It is true, that among the *Ecclesiastical
Tories*, there are many who see through
the Trick, by which the whole Party
is engaged in a Ferment, which turns to
the Account only of a few: Of this Num-
ber are those I have called the *Mitigate*;
among whom, are some that are pos-
sess'd of the Highest Dignities in the
Church: But they are not the strong-
est. The *Rigids* are much more nume-
rous. This last Branch is made up of almost
all the inferior Clergy, of some few Bi-
shops, of the Two Universities, and particularly
of

of *Oxford*, and these Bodies are attended by an infinite Number of Laymen. Of these *Rigids* consists *High-Church*; that is, a Church without the least Mixture of *Presbytery*. These Men are so bigotted to the minutest Ceremony in the Church of *England*, that they wou'd not give up the most insignificant Point; by which Obstinacy they shew, that they are not so much acted by a Zeal for Religion, as by a rancorous Party Spirit. And it is a common Maxim among them, that it is better to be even a *Papist* than a *Presbyterian*. Now, as the *Mitigate Churchmen*, tho' more moderate in their Sentiments, do nevertheless look upon the Hierarchy as a very essential Point, it is no wonder that the *Tories* shou'd all unite together to oppose the Prosperity of the *Whigs*, who have all the *Presbyterians* in their Party. 'Tis perhaps one of the Artifices of the *State Tories*, to have given, or at least to keep up the Name of *Tory*, in order to make a perplexed Mixture of several Interests of different Natures in the same Party; because that Perplexity is their main Support and greatest Advantage.

The *Papists* are also reckoned a Branch of the *Tories*, because they are attached to that Party. As they can never hope to make their Religion National but by Means of an absolute King, it is not surprizing that they should herd with the *Arbitrary Tories*. Indeed, this wou'd be no great Support to the *Tories*, if

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they were no more than the *Papists* that are in *England*, who have neither Employments nor Votes in Elections ; but this Admission of the *Papists* ties to the *Tory Interest* some Foreign Powers, that may be very useful to them upon certain Occasions. Yet it must be confessed, they do hereby give their Adversaries a Handle to blacken them with great Reproaches.

If the Heads of the *Tory Party* had nothing in View but to maintain the King's Prerogatives and the Rights of the Church of *England*, 'tis almost certain that Party wou'd be invincible, because those are the true Interests of of the Nation. But as they often make use of those Pretences only to conceal other Designs that are incompatible with the Publick Good ; so soon as ever those Designs are found out, their Adherents generally fall off, the Division of their Members being the necessary Consequence of such a Discovery. This is what makes me of Opinion, that it is almost impossible they shou'd ever succeed in placing the Pretender upon the Throne, or in cloathing any King of their own Party with unlimited Power. This Judgment is founded upon its being neither the Interest nor the general Desire of the Nation. It is for this Reason that they are so much in the Interests of *France* ; because they find they shall stand in need of her Assistance. During the last War, every Defeat that Crown received, was a terrible Mortification to them, and they endeavoured

as much as they were able to depreciate the Importance of it; and of course, as soon as ever they got to the Helm of the Government, their first Care was to heal the Wounds she had received; yet *France* is hardly potent enough to do their Work for them. *Great-Britain* is an Island which cannot be attack'd by Surprize; and while the King and Parliament are united, they can send such Fleets to Sea, as *France* must never pretend to overcome.

The *Arbitrary Tories* therefore are to be regarded as a Party, that is not at all favoured by the present State of Affairs, and consequently their best Way will be to remain in Inaction till Time offers them a fairer Opportunity of shewing themselves. But it is not their Character to be Quiet; they can never be easy while they see themselves excluded from all Offices of Honour and Profit, which in all Probability are the chief Objects of the Disturbances they make. Yet it is certain, their being the frequent Occasions of such Disturbances does them a great deal of Prejudice in the Minds of the People; and their turbulent Spirit makes the whole Body of the *Tories* odious, who are sure to be charged with all the Faults and Disorders committed by their Leaders: This even induces many to quit their Party.

As for the other three Branches of the *Tories*, namely, the *Moderate*, the *Rigids*, and the *Mitigate*, it would be Madness in the *Whigs* to

think of ruining them by violent Means; they could never effect it, without setting the whole Kingdom in an Uproar. They may indeed keep them out of publick Offices and Employments: But if ever they should be so imprudent as to offer to meddle with the Church of *England*, they would run the Risque of raising such Storms as might deprive them of the Superiority they at present enjoy. Thus the Interest of the *Whigs* is to let the Church be at Peace, and they know it full well, as appears by their Conduct; tho' they have been often provoked, yet now they have the Power in their Hands, they don't seek at all to be revenged of the *Episcopalians*: On the contrary, their Aim is to separate them, if possible, from the rest of the *Tories*, by trying to convince them that they have no Design against the Church. If they effect this, their Victory over the *Arbitrary Tories* wou'd be certain. But these latter, who see what a home Blow this Conduct may give them, endeavour to prevent it, by drawing Religion constantly into the Dispute, and by instilling into the People a continual Fear of the Designs of the *Whigs* against the Church of *England*.

After having shewn the Views, Strength and Interests of the *Tory Party*, we must now proceed to the four opposite Branches of the *Whigs*. As for the *Republicans*, they are very few in Number, and go downwards more and more every Day. There is not the least likelihood
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of their ever having such another Opportunity as they had during the Troubles in the Time of K. *Charles I.*

I have already said, that the chief Difference between the *Moderate Whigs* and the *Moderate Tories*, consists in that these latter incline more to the Prerogatives of the King, and the former to the Privileges of the Subject : But notwithstanding this, they easily unite when the Nation is in Danger. If the *Moderate Whigs* had not so many *Presbyterians* among them, it might be hoped that the two Branches of *Moderate Tories* and *Moderate Whigs* would always remain united, as they seemed to be after the Death of King *William*. When, I say, the one inclines more to the King and the other more to the People, I do not relate what they say of themselves, but what is really true. The two Parties on the contrary aver, that their sole Intention is to maintain the Government in the Condition wherein it has been settled for several Ages : So that to hear them, one would think they never formed but one and the same Party. It is however but too certain, that this Diversity of Inclination often obliges them to divide, tho' it is to be presumed that their Meanings are equally good, and that they vary only in the Methods they make use of. Perhaps the one are somewhat too apprehensive of the Royal Power, and the other not quite apprehensive enough. But what contributes most to make them

them be looked upon as two different Parties, is Religion; because one consists wholly of Churchmen, and in the other there is a Mixture of *Presbyterians*. Now to be able rightly to distinguish the Interests of the Church from those of the State, requires a Train of Thought which every Body is not capable of. Yet it may be aver'd, that even tho' we take the Branch of *Moderate Whigs* separately and by itself, it is full as powerful as that of the *Moderate Tories*: But when they are joined together, they form a Party which nothing could resist, if Religion did not interfere in the Dispute. The chief Business of the *Moderate Whigs* therefore, is to assist the People as much as possible, in discerning the Interests of the Church from those of the State; and for this Purpose, they shou'd use great Moderation, and shew great respect to the Clergy. They ought likewise by all means to avoid listening to the *Republican Whigs*, for fear of alarming the *Moderate Tories*, whose Assistance is often necessary to them. But on the other Hand, they must neglect no Means to break the Designs and Measures of the *Arbitrary Tories*, who are their real Adversaries. 'Tis by pursuing this Scheme only, that they can maintain themselves in Credit.

We come now to the *Whigs* I before called *Ecclesiastical*. These are all *Presbyterians*, and are only a Wing of the Main Body of the *Whigs*, which consists of the Church of *England*.

land. Yet even these *Presbyterians* may be divided into two Branches; the first is of *rigid Presbyterians*, who absolutely reject, not only the Hierarchy of the Church, but also all the Ceremonies that are practis'd in the Church of *England*. Their Number is pretty considerable in *England*; but what adds greater Weight to them is, that all *Scotland* is for them. They are very zealous and hot for the Propagation of *Presbytery*, and it sometimes happens, that the Heads of the *Whigs* (to satisfy their Importunity) are obliged to make certain Steps which prejudice their whole Party in the Minds of the People: 'Tis very easy to conceive, that the Interest of the *rigid Presbyterians*, is not that the Affairs of the Church should remain upon the Foot they now stand; since it can be only by some great Revolution that their Religion must become National. Accordingly, they are looked upon as dangerous People, and are never set at the Head of the *Whig Party*, which they would conduct very scurvily.

Lastly, There is another Branch of the *Ecclesiastical Whigs*, which comprehends the *Mitigate Presbyterians*, and also all the other Nonconformists, as *Quakers*, *Anabaptists*, &c. who find more Support among the *Whigs*, than among the *Tories*; tho' at the Bottom their Junction is of no great Service to the Party. The *Mitigate Presbyterians*, who are much less scrupulous, less fiery, less obstinate than the *rigid* ones, can with a safe Conscience go to Church,
and

and even take the Sacrament there, if 'tis their Interest so to do. Indeed, if 'twere put to their Choice, they would be glad to see their own Religion uppermost; but they don't think 'twould be prudent to use violent Means to make it so. These are certainly the most dangerous Enemies that the *Rigids* have; because their moderate Conduct gives them no hold to accuse them of designing the Subversion of the Church of *England*. It was with a View to these, that the *Tories* made the Act to prevent *Occasional Conformity*, in the last Year of *Queen Anne*. And by means of this Act, which is still in Force, the *Presbyterians* are all effectually excluded from Honours and Offices; because to hold a Place, it is not now enough, as it was formerly, to communicate once in the Church of *England*, but they must prove themselves to be real Members of that Church, by going constantly thither, and to no Meeting whatsoever. The *Whigs*, who are now in Play, have it indeed in their Power to revoke that Act; but I believe, for the Reasons which I have already insinuated, they will hardly ever go about such a Design, which would very much inflame the Minds of the People, and be of no particular Service to themselves, who are of the Church of *England*.

The Strength of the two Parties being such as I have related, and the Views and Interests of the different Branches being thus in Opposition; it seems easy to infer, that 'tis next to im-

impossible to place a Popish King upon the Throne, while the King and Parliament continue in Union, and abstain from meddling with the Church. The *Arbitrary Tories* may indeed from time to time scatter Illusions among the People, of the Church's being in Danger; but those Illusions can never last long, when they find that no Body really goes about to hurt the Church. If therefore Religion is unconcern'd, that is to say, if the *Episcopalians* do not fancy themselves under a Necessity of trying the most violent Means to save their Church from Shipwreck; there will be but very weak Pushes made in Favour of the Pretender. Every time an Attempt is made to place him upon the Throne, the *Moderate* and the *Mitigate Tories* will join the *Whigs*; and then that Party will become much too strong for the *Arbitrary Tories*, even tho' all the *Rigids* should declare for them; which yet is very unlikely: For we must not imagine, tho' some of those *Rigids* make a great Stir and Noise, that all of the same Sect desire to live under a Popish King. They are zealous for the Church, but that Church is Protestant; therefore that very Zeal will never suffer them to bring the Protestant Religion in danger of being destroy'd. Perhaps it may be said, that *France* will assist the *Arbitrary Tories* to the utmost of her Power. This is what I can very hardly believe, for Reasons which I shall open elsewhere. But even tho'

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France shou'd seriously embark in such an Undertaking; she wou'd find it very difficult to be effected, because of the Situation and Maritime Forces of *England*. Nothing but a Surprise can bring about what the *Arbitrary Tories*, the *Papists*, and some of the *Rigids* so earnestly desire. But it is very likely, the Attempt they have lately made will warn the King and Parliament to stand upon their Guard, for the future, against the like Enterprizes.

There is another Thing that will be a perpetual Obstacle against the Establishment of a *Popish King*: It is, that in *England* there is hardly any good Family but what is in Possession of some of the Abby-Lands. The Ancestors of the present Possessors either received them as a Present from the King, or purchased them at a very low Rate. If a *Popish King* were settled upon the Throne, it is hardly to be doubted, that he wou'd endeavour to his utmost Power, to give his own Religion the Superiority. What Danger then wou'd the Enjoyers of these Lands be in, if his Design shou'd succeed? It is exceeding probable they wou'd be despoiled of them. Nay, who knows, if they wou'd not be made to account for all the past Profits? It is therefore manifest, that the *Tories* and *Whigs* are equally concerned in Interest to prevent this Danger. If we were narrowly to examine into those that are so hot for having a *Popish King*, we shou'd certainly find, either that they have none of those
Lands,

Lands, or that they have particular Reasons to hope they will be made up to them another way.

We are now to give a yet more compleat Idea of the two Parties of *Whig* and *Tory*, by drawing both their Characters.

The *Tories* in general, are Supercilious and Haughty. They treat the *Whigs* with the utmost Contempt, and even with Rigour, whenever they are uppermost. As the *Tory Party* consists mostly of *Episcopalians*, who are the Body of the Nation; they look upon themselves to be the reigning Party, and cannot bear the Equality, much less the Superiority of their Adversaries. I cannot better compare the Behaviour of the *Tories* towards the *Whigs*, than to that of the *Papists* towards the *Protestants*, in those Countries where the *Roman Catholicks* are the most numerous, and have the Support of the Government. 'Tis with great Regret that the *Tories* allow the *Presbyterians* even Liberty of Conscience. When they are in Power, they never fail to prohibit their Assemblies, and exclude them from all Employments by Act of Parliament. The last Years of Queen *Anne* will afford most flagrant Instances of that Party's Fury.

They have also another Character: It is that they are prodigious hot, and drive on like Madmen. They have often destroyed their own Designs by that Fault. When they are in the Ministry, they push on their Schemes

with inconceivable Rapidity. Very remarkable Proofs of what I advance, may be seen in the Reign of *Charles II.* *James II.* and the late Queen. Yet it must be owned, that this Rapidity is not always to be ascribed to the Heat of their Passion, but that sometimes it is grounded upon Policy. As the *Arbitrary Tories*, who are generally at the Head of the Party, do often enter into Projects of changing the Constitution; they are obliged to make a quick Use of the Opportunities that offer, because those Opportunities are of a Nature not to last long. For Example, in the Reign of *Charles II.* it was necessary to oppress the *Whig Party* as fast as possible; for fear the King, who had been with Difficulty brought into the Plot that was to be wholly for the Advantage of others, and not at all of himself, shou'd change his Mind, Besides, they had no Time to lose; for they very well knew that the *Whigs* were incessantly employ'd in shewing the People the true Aim that the Court shot at. So again, when *James II.* ascended the Throne, his presumptive Heir was his eldest Daughter, *Mary Princess of Orange*, who was very zealous for the Protestant Religion. Thus, if the King should die without Male Issue, all his Projects had vanished away in Smoke at his Decease, if he did not compleat the Work while he lived. It was therefore necessary to be quick; because it was not likely they shou'd have such another Op-

Opportunity after that Prince's Death. For the same Reason, as Queen *Anne* was Childless when she put the Ministry into the Hands of the *Arbitrary Tories*; it behoved them to make Peace with *France* immediately, and to take the speediest Measures to settle the Crown upon the Pretender, for fear she shou'd die before all their Projects were brought to Perfection; as indeed she did. It was undoubtedly with this View that they made such a precipitate Peace, in order to procure the Assistance of *Louis XIV.* which was so absolutely necessary to finish their Work. It is very probable, if the Queen had lived but a little longer, the Act of Succession had been revoked. But this Precipitation, which seems so unavoidable in the *Tories*, is on the other Hand very prejudicial to them, in that it discovers too soon their Leaders Designs, which are such as shou'd be executed but by little and little, and not suddenly and with Violence. They can never succeed to their Wish, till they have a long and peaceful Reign, a King that favours their Schemes, and one of a very artful Capacity, or at least that gives himself wholly and blindly up to their Counsels.

Another Character of the *Tories* is, that they change their Principles according as their Party is uppermost, or undermost. When they have a King on their Side, they cry up Might and Main the Doctrine of *Passive Obedience*; and affirm, that the Subjects must obey their King, with-

without daring to examine the Legality of his Commands; because, at that Time, they wou'd fain persuade the *Whigs* to suffer themselves to be oppressed, without Resistance. But when the Government is in the Hands of the contrary Party, then they hush that Doctrine, or quite bury it in Oblivion. Thus, in all the *Tory Authors* that have wrote concerning the Troubles in the Reign of *Charles I.* the same Doctrine of *Passive Obedience* is laid down as a certain and incontestible Principle. This they did because their chief Purpose was to represent, as a most horrible Rebellion, the Measures the Parliament took to defend themselves, and oppose the Designs of the King. When the *Presbyterians* were persecuted in the Reign of *Charles II.* nothing was to be heard in all Parts, but *Passive Obedience, Passive Obedience.* But this was nothing to what was preached in the Reign of *James I.* I remember to have often heard the Consequences of this Principle pushed on in the Pulpit as far, if not farther than ever they were in *France* in the Reign of *Louis XIV.* They insisted mightily upon a certain Canon of a Synod of the Church of *England*, which defines, *That the Subjects who take up Arms against the King, upon any Pretence whatsoever, make themselves guilty of Treason, and that whether they attack, or whether they only defend themselves, St. Paul plainly tells them, that they shall thereby gain to themselves Damnation.* But the Synod in which this Canon

Canon was made, was held under Archbishop Laud, at the Time when Charles I. was in Possession of *Absolute Power*, a little before the beginning of the Troubles. But when King William was upon the Throne, the Doctrine of *Passive Obedience* lay quiet, because the *Tories* did not look upon the King to be their Friend. There was no talk of it neither in the first Years of the Queen, who had put the Ministry into the Hands of the *Moderate Whigs*, and the *Moderate Tories*. Afterwards, this Doctrine was trump'd up again by Dr. Sacheverell, when the Queen had given her self into the Management of the *Arbitrary Tories*. But since King GEORGE has been upon the Throne, the *Arbitrary Tories* and the *Rigids* have convinced all the World, that they never admit this Doctrine, but when they are back'd by a King after their own Heart; and that they make no Scruple to reject it, when the Government is against them. But they have a Distinction always ready to answer this Objection, between a *King de Jure*, and a *King de Facto*; and they aver, 'tis to the *King de Jure* that they owe their Obedience; and he that favours them is always sure to be *King de Jure*, whether he is actually upon the Throne, or has only some vain Pretensions to it.

Let us now proceed to the Character of the *Whigs*. Those of that Party, that are of the Number of the *Rigid Presbyterians*, are a stubborn heady People, that perhaps wou'd be no less fiery and passionate than the *Tories*, if they

they were at the Helm. But as these have not had the Direction of the Party ever since the long Parliament, it is not upon them that we are to form the general Character of the *Whigs*; whereas that of the *Tories* must be drawn from the *Arbitrary Tories* and the *Rigids*, who are their Heads and Leaders.

Those that are at the Head of the *Whig Party* are much more *Moderate* than the Heads of the *Tories*. Besides, they commonly act upon fixed Principles, from which they never vary, except when they are obliged to do something for the *Presbyterians*, to keep them tight. Far from going about to carry Things with a high Hand, as the *Tories* do, they make to their Point by slow Steps, without Passion and without Violence. Their greatest Trouble is to repress the Warmth of some among them, who, if they had their Will, would put all into Confusion. By this *Moderation* they endeavour gently to convince the People, that they have no ill Design against the Church of *England*; in order to separate the *Church Tories* from the *Arbitrary Tories*. As it is the Interest of the *Tories* to confound all the Branches of their Party, that they may unite them into one Body, under the Direction of their Leaders; it is that of the *Whigs*, on the contrary, to enable Men to make a Distinction between those different Classes, in order to prevent the *Episcopalians* from helping on the Designs of the *Arbitrary Tories*. But they cou'd never effect

this,

this, if they try'd to do it by Violence. Therefore, the Slowness and Moderation of the *Whigs* is no less grounded upon Policy, than the Precipitation and *Fury* of the *Tories*.

The *Whigs* are accused of being very greedy of Riches and Honours, and of not giving suitable Rewards to their Adherents; which often makes their Friends drop off and forsake them. I have nothing to say to this Point, not being sufficiently informed of the particular Affairs of the Party. Besides, the discussion of this Charge must lead me into an Examination of the Conduct of the Persons who think themselves neglected; which I would willingly avoid; my Design being to confine my self to general *Ideas*. And be this as it will, it may be said in praise of the *Moderate Whigs*, that in the main they defend a good Cause, namely, the Established Constitution of the Government. Indeed they have sometimes erred through an Excess of Distrust and Precaution. This has led them into Measures that were contrary to their true Interests and their settled Principles; having upon certain Occasions, extended the Rights of the Subject and of the Parliament to the expence of the Regal Authority.

As for the *Ecclesiastical Whigs* who are no other than the *Presbyterians*, all that can be said relating to to them, is, that they are greatly prejudiced against Episcopacy and all

the rest of the Hierarchy of the Church. The Question is, whether this Prejudice is well grounded; or whether, even if it is, that is a reasonable Cause of Separation? As for my particular, I look upon this Dispute to be of but little importance. For this Reason, I cannot approve of the *Rigidity of the Presbyterians*, in a Country where the Reformation is Established after the Manner it is in *England*, since there is no difference between the two Churches in Matters of Faith and in Essentials. The same may be said of the *Episcopalians* in *Scotland*; and perhaps even in *England*, more Condescension ought to be shewn to the Scruples of the *Presbyterians*. But this is only my private Opinion; which I do not pretend to give as a Rule either to one or t'other.

Before we proceed any farther, it will not be improper to prevent an Objection which may naturally enough arise upon what has been said; it is, that all things being directed in *England* by the Parliament, those Junctions which I mentioned, either of the different Branches of the same Party, or of the Branches of two different Parties, seem to be of no Service, unless they are made in the Parliament itself, among the Members of that Body. But those Junctions are so far from taking Place in the Parliament, that on the contrary one of the two Parties generally prevails there so much, that the Confederacies made among the other Members are totally useless. To

To this I answer, first, that the Parliament consisting of two Houses, whereof that of Lords is always fixed, and not capable of receiving any considerable Alterations; these Junctions may take Place in that House, whose Principles are less variable than those of the Commons. Now, as the House of Lords have a Right of rejecting the Bills that are sent up from the House of Commons; it follows, that the House of Lords, by such Junctions, can break the Measures of the House of Commons: And consequently those Junctions may produce great Effects.

Secondly, these Unions may take Place in the Elections of Members of Parliament. For Example, if there is any Suspicion that a Design is form'd of setting a Popish King upon the Throne, the *Moderate* and the *Mitigate Tories* may joyn with the *Whigs*, to chuse Members who they are sure will oppose the Measures they are apprehensive of, and by that Means frustrate the Hopes of the *Arbitrary Tories* and the *Rigids*.

Thirdly, there is no Reason to doubt that in a House of Commons, consisting even of a Majority of *Tories*, the *Moderate* and the *Mitigate* among them, if they had notice that a Design was in Hand which might be prejudicial to the Nation, would joyn the *Whigs*, to hinder it from taking Effect. The *Moderate Whigs* might likewise join the *Tories*, if they saw the Republican Party grew too powerful.

It must nevertheless be confessed, that a Spirit of Party, the Cabals of their Leaders, the Intrigues of the Court, the Interests of private Men, have but too much influence over the Deliberations of that Assembly, which represents the *English* Nation. To say all in one Word, the Parliament consists of Men not exempt from Passions. To make the Parliament come up to the *Idea* that is conceived of it by those who are not thoroughly acquainted with that Assembly, would require so many Men entirely Perfect. But as this is impossible, it would at least be prudent to reform certain Abuses, for which a proper Remedy either has not been found, or not duly sought. Tho' this leads me a little wide of my Subject, yet I shall dwell a Moment upon it, and be bold to point out a Few of those Abuses. This will at least help to give a more extensive Notion of the Government of *England*, which, tho' excellent in its Nature, is however subject to some Imperfections.

The first Abuse consists in the too great Influence the Court has sometimes had in Elections of Members of Parliament, and consequently in the Deliberations of Parliament. The Cause is easily assigned; It is the Division that reigns between the *Whigs* and the *Tories*, which gives the King a Power that he certainly would not have, if all the People were united. One of the Parties
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is no sooner got into the Ministry, but they procure the Lieutenancies of the Counties, and all the Places in the Gift of the Court for Persons that are devoted to their Interest. Afterwards they call a new Parliament *. Then, besides the Money which the Ministry, if we may believe the general Report, privately distributes; those that are in Authority in the Cities, Towns and Counties, use all their Credit and Cunning to get Members elected that may favour the Court, and give its Party the Superiority of Voices in the House of Commons. We may make Judgment of the Effects of these Intrigues from this one Consideration; that a *Tory Ministry* may almost constantly depend upon getting a *Tory Parliament*, and a *Whig Ministry* a *Whig Parliament*. However, this Position is not so infallible, but that sometimes there is a Majority against the Court. But that never happens, except when there is in the Kingdom a general Perswasion, that the Court has Designs pernicious to the State and to the Liberty of the Subject. I say nothing of the Creation of Twelve Peers in the last Reign all at one time, only with a view to give the Court a plurality of Voices in the House of Lords. That was such an Abuse

* The Reader we doubt not will have his Eye upon the Years 1710. & *seq.* and he will be convinced the Author does not speak without good Grounds.

as was plain to the meanest Capacity, and of very dangerous Consequence.

The second Abuse consists, in that there are little Villages which have a Right to send Members to Parliament; and the Votes of those Members go for as much as those of the Members for *London* or *Westminster*, notwithstanding the vast disproportion there is between the Electors of the one and the Electors of the other. It is in these Villages, Hamlets and inconsiderable Towns, that the Court often procures the Election of Members that have not an Inch of Land near the Place for which they serve. Some pretend, that these Places have a Right as ancient as the Parliament it self, even from the time of the *Anglo-Saxons*. Others think it much more Modern. But, be that as it will, it is at present no small Abuse that Hamlets, consisting perhaps of but four or five Thatcht Houses, should have as much Power in Parliament as the greatest Cities in the Kingdom.

There is a third Abuse of great Consequence, and which ought particularly to be reformed, since it is in some measure contrary to *Magna Charta*, whereon the *English* found their Liberties and Privileges. In this Charter, King *John* engages, in expresse terms, for himself and Successors, never to call a Parliament, without giving at the same time the Causes of its Meeting. While this Custom was observed, the Parliament consulted
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but upon few Affairs, for which the Members were prepared beforehand; and the Parliament sate but a few Days. If this was still continued, the Towns and Counties might give their Members Instructions upon the Affairs for which the Parliament was called, or at least chuse Members that were of the same Sentiments with those that send them. But, now, several Abuses arise from the Neglect of this one Article. First, the Sessions last as long as the King pleases, and he can put an End to them whenever he thinks fit. *Henry IV.* made good use of this Advantage, by keeping a Parliament continually sitting, till they granted him the Subsidy he asked. Secondly, the Electors, not knowing the Matters which are to be handled in Parliament, are obliged to give their Members an unlimited Power. From hence arises another Abuse, That often the Members are of a different Mind from those that send them. It may therefore happen, and has often happened, that the House of Commons may come to Resolutions directly contrary to the Meaning of the People, which it represents. Thus it is not the People, or Commons of *England*, that share the Legislative Power with the King and Peers; but their Members enjoy a Privilege due only to the People in general, to whom nevertheless they give no Account of their Conduct. All the Harm that can come to them, if they have

have not followed the Intent of their Electors, is not to be chose again. So that there seems to be too great a Power allowed to meer Deputies. There was a different Conduct observed in *France*, when the general States of the Kingdom were convened. Every Province prepared beforehand its Cahiers, or particular Instructions ; from which it was not lawful for the Deputies to vary. In like manner, when any Affair of Importance is to be deliberated upon in the *States-General* of the *United Provinces*, the Deputies receive their Instructions from their Provinces ; and in the particular States of each Province, the Magistrates of Towns give their Orders and Instructions to their Deputies.

A Fourth Abuse consists in the Brigues used in the Time of Elections with excessive Expenses. There are some Gentlemen that spend many Thousand Pounds Sterling to get themselves elected ; and that too in the Sight and Knowledge of the whole World.

Lastly, there is another kind of Abuse in the House of Commons, in the Members being suffered to go, to come, to absent themselves, just as they please, except upon certain great Occasions , so that of five Hundred and thirteen Members, which if I am not deceived there ought to be in that House, sometimes there are not a Hundred and Fifty. This makes the Designs of either Party much more easily brought about than if the House were com-

compleat. Besides, there are several Members, who tho' at *London*, do not constantly attend the Business of the House, but stay away upon any inconsiderable Affair of their own. This puts me in mind of a Story with which I shall conclude this Digression. A *Whig Member* one day upbraided one of the same Party, that if he had been at the House that Morning, they had carry'd a Point of Consequence; this latter asked him coldly, how many they had lost it by? The other answered, but by One: He reply'd, that if he had been there, they had lost it by Four, because then there had been Four *Tory Members* more in the House, whom he had detained on purpose all that Morning at a Tavern.

I have now only a Word or two to say, concerning the Interests of the neighbouring States, with relation to the two Parties of *Whigs* and *Tories*. Tho' the Differences between these two Parties seem to concern *England* only, yet they have indeed a very great Influence over the Affairs of other Nations. The Peace of *Utrecht* has shewn us what a Turn they may give to the Circumstances of all *Europe*.

Every Body knows that the *States-General* of the *United Provinces*, are Friends and Adherents to the *Whigs*; and it is not without Reason that they are so, for the *Whigs* have always promoted their Interests in *England*. It was the *Whigs* that obliged *Charles II.* to make

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Peace with *Holland*, when he was in League with *Louis XIV.* against them. Ever since that Time they have always looked upon the Interests of *Holland* to be almost their own. And, in return, they have received great Services from the *States General*, particularly in the Assistance they gave the Prince of *Orange* to break the Measures of King *James*. This Friendship has been ever since preserved, and even encreased. The Reason of it is plain : It is, that *France*, the everlasting Foe to *Holland*, has constantly supported the *Tories*; from whence it follows, that the *Dutch* are obliged to side with the *Whigs*, since they can never hope for any Assistance from *England*, but thro' their Means. This is so manifest, that it requires no Examples.

For the same Reason the Emperor, as Sovereign of the *Netherlands*, ought to be a Friend to the *Whigs*: As he cannot look upon the King of *France* to be any other than a very dangerous and a very formidable Neighbour, he must not expect Aid from the *English*, in case his Country is invaded, unless the *Whigs* are in the Ministry. According to all Appearances, the *Tories* would make no great Efforts to defend the *Netherlands* against the Attacks of *France*. But if it should happen that thro' an Excess of Zeal for his Religion, the Emperor should lend his Assistance to raise the Pretender to the Throne of *England*; what wou'd he get by so doing, but the making

making of *France* yet more potent, and throwing into the Balance of *Europe* a Weight which at once wou'd sink it all to one side?

The Interests of *France*, with reference to the two Parties of *Whigs* and *Tories*, require a great deal more Consideration. It is certain, in general, the Interest of that Crown, is to preserve a good Intelligence with *England*. Ever since the mighty Growth of the House of *Austria*, that is, for about two Hundred Years, *England* has been able to incline the Balance either to the Side of that House, or to the Side of *France*, as she pleas'd. But her constant Interest has been to keep those two Powers in an Equality. This is the Pin on which all the Policy of the Kings of *England* has turned for these two Centuries. If *Henry* the VIIIth did sometimes vary from it, that is to be ascribed to the private Interests of Cardinal *Wolfey*, or to his own Caprice. So that it has always been the Business of *France* to keep in with *England*. Accordingly, the Politics of *Louis* the XIVth, for Fifty two Years, lay in two Points; either to draw *England* into his Quarrel, or at least to keep her from embracing that of his Enemies. But as that Monarch did not find it easy to persuade the *English* that it was their Advantage to aggrandize his Power; he confined himself to hinder them from taking Part at all in the Affairs of *Europe*, that he might be free to act without meeting with any Opposition from them. But

it must be remembred, that this Policy had a View to the great Design he had formed against the Liberty of *Europe*. Had it not been for that, he might have been totally unconcerned what the *English* had resolved upon. To set this Matter in a clear Light, it will not be improper to relate, in a few Words, what has been that Monarch's Conduct, with reference to *England*.

The World is not now to be told that *Louis XIV.* had laid a Scheme to set up an universal Monarchy in *Europe*. As he knew that it was the Interest of *England* to keep the Balance of *Europe* in an *Equilibrium*, and that the *English* esteemed this Maxim as the chief Foundation of their own Security ; he had just cause to fear they wou'd oppose the Execution of his Designs. To prevent this, he used all his Skill to bring *Charles II.* into his Interests, when he had fixed upon a War with *Holland*, in 1672. *Charles's* Ministers were all *Tories*, and it was by their Means he induced that Prince to enter into a League with him. But that League was of very short Duration: It was so evidently contrary to the true Interest of *England*, that the Parliament obliged the King to make Peace with *Holland*, and had constrained him even to declare against *France*, if the Hopes of a speedy Peace between that Crown and the *States-General* had not stop'd them from proceeding so far.

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The Peace of *Nimeguen*, concluded in 1678, did not interrupt the Prosecution of the King of *France's* Designs. But as he now was convinced that King *Charles* would not have it in his Power to follow his own Inclinations, he resolv'd to try another Way to put *England* at least out of a Condition to concern her self in the Affairs of *Europe*. This Way was to stir up the Divisions in that Kingdom, in order to keep the *English* employed at Home. The Projects of the Duke of *Tork*, the Weakness of the King in following his Counsels, the Choice of certain hot, and perhaps corrupt Ministers, were in all Appearance the Effects of *Louis's* Intrigues in *England*. This Method succeeded to his Wish. The Conspiracy discovered by *Titus Oates*; the pretended *Protestant Plot*; the Persecution of the *Presbyterians*; the People's Discontents; the Differences between the King and the Parliament, kept the *English* so fully employ'd at Home, that they cou'd not give the least Attention to Affairs Abroad. In the mean while *Louis* the XIVth made himself dreadful to all *Europe*; because he had nothing to fear from the Part of *England*, which remained in Inaction, when she ought to have exerted all her Vigour to put a Stop to the Career of *France*.

James II. succeeding to the Throne, *Louis* continued the Artifice which had been so useful to him. He now solicited the new King of *England* to execute the Projects he had formed,

ed, being Duke of *York*, in favour of *Arbitrary Government* and the *Popish Religion*. He knew these two Articles were sufficient to furnish *England* with Business enough to last a great while; yet, as his only Aim was to perplex the *English* with domestick Troubles, he never gave King *James* any considerable Support. It was not for his Interest to have that Prince compleat his Designs too speedily. When he saw him upon the Point of being attacked by the Prince of *Orange*, he did not stir a Step in his Defence. On the contrary, he laid hold of that Opportunity to carry the War into *Germany*. He thought he might be positive that the Disturbances he had raised in *England*, wou'd for a long while tie up that Nation's Hands from opposing his Ambition, which was all he desired. Afterwards, when King *William* had declared War against him, he sent King *James* into *Ireland*, with seven Thousand Men; a Succour far from sufficient to re-establish him upon the Throne, but considerable enough to make a Diversion, and feed the Hopes of the *Jacobites*. Thus the whole Course of *Louis* the XIVth's Conduct shews, that he never intended any Thing farther than to foment Divisions and Troubles in *England*; and that King *James* was only a Tool to do his Work. Yet it should seem at first View, that it had been very advantageous to *Louis* to have restored that Prince; but it is most certain it could not be his Interest to suffer

suffer a King of *England* to be at Peace at Home. The Reason of this is manifest: for it being the Interest of *England* to hold the Balance of *Europe* with a steady Hand; *Louis*, who had laid vast Schemes, very plainly foresaw that a King of *England*, uninterrupted by domestick Distractions, will infallibly adhere to that Interest, or be obliged to do so. Therefore it was that *Louis* the XIVth was contented with throwing *England* into Disputes at Home, and with maintaining an Intelligence for that Purpose with the Leaders of the *Tory Party*; which Intelligence openly appeared in the latter Years of *Queen Anne*.

It seems therefore, that it is the Interest of a King of *France* to preserve a good Correspondence with the *Tories*, in order to foment Disturbances in *England* by their Means. This is exactly true, when he has any Projects against the rest of *Europe*. But if his sole Intention is to live in Peace, and only to be able to defend himself in case he is attacked; nothing can be more advantageous to him than to cultivate the Friendship of the King of *England*, according to the constant Maxim of *Louis* the XIVth's Predecessors; whether the Ministry be *Whig* or *Tory*. In the State *France* has been in for several Years, she may be said to be invincible, while *England* forbears to declare against her. But if the King of *England* is provoked to make a new League with *Holland* and *Germany*, the Experience of the last

last War convinces us, that *France* is very far from being invincible. We may therefore venture to affirm, that if the illustrious Prince who now governs that Kingdom, does not intend to pursue the vast Designs of Louis the XIV. it is not at all his Interest to inflame the Confusions of *England*, which may be so far from being advantageous to him, that they may turn extreamly to his Prejudice†. I confess, that in the indirect Succours given to the Pretender from *France*, the Duke Regent has made a Step which seems contrary to the Maxim I lay down. Time perhaps may let us into the Secret of that Policy. But, in the mean while, I cannot help suspecting, that he has been misinformed as to the true Condition of the two Parties in *England*, and that he has trusted too much to inconsiderate and mercenary People. Perhaps the Pretender himself is very much deceived in the Account that is given him of the Strength of his own Party.

I have but one Observation more, to conclude what I have to say of the *Whigs* and the *Tories*. It is, that when I spoke of their different Views, of their Interests, and Cha-

† What the Author says of the Interest of *France* with Relation to the *Whigs* and *Tories* being out of time, since the Alliance concluded between *England*, *Holland*, and that Crown, and signed *January 4. 1717.* it is necessary to inform the Reader that this Dissertation was finished in the Month of *February, 1716.*

racters, I did by no means pretend to include every particular Person engaged in either Party, but only their Heads and Leaders, with some of the most active on both Sides. Tho' all the People are ranged, either by Inclination or Interest, under these two Factions, yet it does not follow that every one of them acts upon the Views I have ascribed to them. It is certain that most of them suffer themselves to be led they know not whither, without examining into the Tendency of the Steps they are made to take; and consequently, they dive very little into the Intrigues and Cabals wherein their Leaders are incessantly busied. A Man perhaps has drawn himself in to be a *Tory*, by being very zealous for the Church of *England*; and in Time (without knowing which way) this Man finds himself engaged to maintain the Principles of the *Arbitrary Tories* and *Rigids*, tho' contrary to his Inclination. It is not to be doubted but there is an infinite Number of good *Englishmen* who groan to see their Country thus torn and disfigured, and who wou'd gladly embrace all Expedients to heal her Divisions: But it is no easy thing to keep in an exact Neutrality, because it is no easy thing to be without Ambition and without Avarice. Those that are Neuter (as I said before) have neither Places nor Honours; because there is always one Party uppermost, which has nothing more at Heart than advancing its own Friends, or winning over some of the opposite Party. Of

consequence there can be no Places left for Persons from whom the reigning Party can hope for no Service. Besides, how can any one stand Neuter between two Parties, each whereof accuses his Antagonist of designing such Mischiefs as are capable of striking Terror into the Heart of Man; namely, the Ruin of the Established Religion, and the Dissolution of a Government, which they think the only One under which a Subject can live happy? He must be very insensible that is not moved at such Dangers, and endeavours not to prevent them, after he is convinced they are real.

We are not therefore to blame all the *English* for these Unnatural Divisions; but only those that foment them for their particular Ends. Who are those that wou'd vest the King with *Absolute Power*? Who are those that wou'd deprive Free Subjects of *Liberty of Conscience*? Who, lastly, are those that do their Endeavours to bring in *Popery*? Can we say these are the Views of private Persons, of all the *Tories*? No certainly: But they are those of their Leaders, who for their own Profit seduce the poor People, and without a Scruple, engage their Country in the Danger of a Civil War.

It may be positively affirmed, it is not the Interest of the Kingdom that one of the Parties shou'd become so superior as to meet with no Contradiction. If it were the *Arbitrary Tories*,
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they wou'd bring *England* under a Despotick Government: If the *Moderate Tories*, their Inclination to the Prerogatives of the Crown, will at length enable the Sovereign to undertake what he pleases, and to shake off the troublesome Yoke of Parliaments: If the *Papists*, *England* will quickly lose her Religion and Liberty. On the other Hand, if the *Republican Whigs* regain the Advantage they have lost, there will be no longer talk of the *Kingdom*, but of the *Republick of England*, as in the Time of *Cromwell*. Lastly, if the *Moderate Whigs* might carry Matters how they pleased, they wou'd take so many Precautions against the Increase of the Royal Power, that they wou'd perhaps reduce the King to the Condition of a Doge of *Venice*.

As for the Extreame of the two Parties in Point of *Religion*, it is certain, that if ever the *Presbyterians* have it in their Power to act without Opposition, they will not be satisfy'd till they have totally destroyed *Hierarchy*, and in general, the whole Church of *England*. But, again, if the *Rigid Episcopalians* had no Counterpoize to their Power, nothing less is to be expected than an open Persecution of *Presbyterians*: And we know not whether they wou'd allow them so much as a bare Liberty of Conscience.

It is certain, the true Good and Advantage of the Kingdom is not to be found in any of the Views which the Heads of the Two Parties seem
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to have an Eye to. The only Method that can in Time restore Peace and Tranquility, is to let the Government remain upon its Ancient Foundations, and the Church in the Condition wherein the *Reformation* placed it. It is also necessary to give Toleration to the Scruples of the *Presbyterians*, who are very numerous in the Kingdom. If this Method is not observed, it will always be safer for the State, that the Division shou'd continue as it is at present, than that one of the Parties shou'd enjoy a Superiority, which wou'd be more fatal to the Publick, than the Equality their Discord keeps them in. Nothing (I think) can put an end to this Kind of intestine War, but the Prudence of a just and equitable KING, moderate in his Desires, of few Passions, a Lover of the *Protestant Religion*, and who makes it his whole Study to procure the Good and Happiness of his Subjects. This we may justly hope for, from the PRINCE that now fills the Throne; since he possesses all these Virtues in an eminent Degree. May the Almighty GOD shower down Blessings on his Designs, and grant that he may live to see with his own Eyes the happy Effects of his Cares.

F I N I S



